

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION ON NEGRO AFFAIRS

HEARING BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON.

H. R. 5733

TO CREATE AN INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION ON
NEGRO AFFAIRS

JUNE 18, 1935

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INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION ON NEGRO AFFAIRS

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 1935

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., at the committee room, in the House Office Building, Hon. Hatton W. Sumners (chairman) presiding.

The committee had under consideration H. R. 5733 which is here printed in full.

[H. R. 5733, 74th Cong. 1st sess.]

A BILL To create an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there shall be created an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs, which shall consist of five members, at least three of whom shall be members of the Negro race, to be appointed by the President of the United States, who shall hold office for six years unless removed for good cause shown; that of the five members first appointed after the passage of this Act, one shall be appointed for two years, one shall be appointed for three years, one shall be appointed for four years, one shall be appointed for five years, and one shall be appointed for six years, and whose position shall in no way be political; that they shall be nonpartisan; that the salary of each member shall be fixed at \$5,000 per annum, except in the case of the chairman, who shall be designated by the President of the United States, and whose salary shall be fixed at \$7,500 per annum; that said Commissioners shall be entitled to the usual per diem and necessary expenses that are usually allowed officers of the Government when absent from their official station for the conduct of official business.

SEC. 2. That said Commission is authorized to appoint such necessary clerks, agents, or investigators; attorneys, and assistants as may be necessary for the conduct of the business for which said Commission is created, or such other work that may be assigned to said Commission by the President of the United States, or any of the departments of the Government of the United States touching any problem or matter affecting the Negro, whose salary shall be fixed by the Commission and approved by the chairman of said Commission.

SEC. 3. That said Commission shall be provided by the Secretary of the Treasury with suitable quarters in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, for the transaction of the business coming before said Commission.

SEC. 4. That the duties of the Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs created by this Act shall be to study the economic conditions of the Negro; to study the labor problems in which the Negro is fundamentally interested; to stimulate and encourage thrift and industry among the Negroes of this country; to promote the general welfare of the Negro in industrial pursuits, and to encourage his general uplift; to work out plans looking toward the solution of the different problems confronting the Negro race of the United States; to consider all questions pertaining to the Negro that may be referred to said Commission by any department of the United States Government, and report a suggested solution of any and all problems that may be presented to the Commission by any officer of the United States, the governor or attorney general of any of the States, or labor department of any State in the United States; to recommend what may be necessary for the stability of labor in the different States; to discourage subversive doctrine and propaganda; to work toward the formulation of a policy for mutual understanding and confidence between the races; to report to Congress through the President of the United States all their acts and doings and to make such recommendations for the solution of any problem or problems affecting the Negro that they may deem advisable.

SEC. 5. That for the purposes of the expenses of said Commission there shall be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, for the first year, the sum of \$300,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to defray the expenses of this Commission; and there shall, every year thereafter, be appropriated by Congress such sum as may be necessary to carry out the work of said Commission; that the expenses shall be paid out of the money hereby appropriated, and upon proper vouchers approved by the chairman of said Commission, including the salaries of the Commissioners.

SEC. 6. That all Acts and parts of Acts inconsistent with this Act are hereby repealed, and this Act shall take effect upon its passage and the approval of the President of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. This was really called as a meeting of the sub-committee of which Mr. Gregory is chairman, but the entire committee has been asked, as far as possible, to attend upon this hearing.

The particular bill under consideration this morning is H. R. 5733, introduced by our colleague from Illinois, Congressman Mitchell. Mr. Celler has had a bill before this committee for some time dealing with the same subject matter.

We have a number of witnesses from outside of the city, and from a distance, as a matter of fact, and we hope it can be arranged so that the statements can be concluded at this session. The House meets this morning at 11 o'clock but we will try to run over a little bit, and I am sure we may be able to do so.

I do not know how many witnesses you have this morning, but you will arrange your own time and introduce your witnesses as you desire, Congressman; I am going to ask Mr. Gregory to take the chair and preside, but I am going to sit in on the committee.

(Mr. Gregory takes the chair.)

MR. GREGORY. I think it would be well to first have a brief statement from the author of the bill, Congressman Mitchell.

STATEMENT OF HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

MR. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, House of Representatives bill 5733 now before this committee for hearing provides for the appointment by the President of the United States of a commission of 5 persons, 3 of whom are to be colored and 2 of whom are to be white, as a fact-finding commission to study affairs pertaining to the interest, welfare, and advancement of the Negro citizens of the United States of America. The purpose and object of the bill I think is well stated in section 4 of the bill, which section I shall, with your permission, read to the committee.

SEC. 4. That the duties of the Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs created by this act shall be to study the economic conditions of the Negro; to study the labor problems in which the Negro is fundamentally interested: to stimulate and encourage thrift and industry among the Negroes of this country; to promote the general welfare of the Negro in industrial pursuits, and to encourage his general uplift; to work out plans looking toward the solution of the different problems confronting the Negro race of the United States; to consider all questions pertaining to the Negro that may be referred to said Commission by any department of the United States Government and report a suggested solution of any and all problems that may be presented to the Commission by any officer of the United States, the governor or attorney general of any of the States, or Labor Department of any State in the United States; to recommend what may be necessary for the stability of labor in the different States; to discourage subversive doctrine and propaganda; to work toward the formulation of a policy for mutual understanding and confidence between the races; to report to Congress through the President of the United States all their acts and doings and to make such recom-

mendations for the solution of any problem or problems affecting the Negro that they may deem advisable.

The bill provides that this Commission shall be nonpolitical and the appointment of the members of the Commission, as the bill provides, shall be as follows:

That the term of office shall be for 6 years unless removed for good cause shown, and that of the first five members appointed after the passage of the act, one shall be appointed for 2 years, 1 shall be appointed for 3 years, 1 shall be appointed for 4 years, 1 shall be appointed for 5 years, and one shall be appointed for 6 years, and whose positions shall in no way be political.

The salaries to be paid these members of the Commission will be \$5,000, with the exception of the chairman, who is to have \$7,500 as provided by the bill.

Before introducing this bill I prepared 50 or more copies in the rough and sent them all over the United States to representative colored men and women and got their comment. I have brought here a number of people to testify who had a chance to see what the bill was before it was introduced.

Mr. PERKINS. Have you seen a copy of Mr. Celler's bill?

Mr. MITCHELL. I saw a copy of the bill which has been introduced year after year for many years, but this bill I introduced, H. R. 5733, differs very materially from it.

Mr. CELLER. How does it differ?

Mr. MITCHELL. It differs first in the method of appointment of the members of the Commission, in providing that the first members appointed shall be appointed for terms of 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 years. On page 3, in section 4, lines 12 to 16, my bill provides that with its report the Commission shall suggest a solution of any and all problems that may be presented to the Commission by any officer of the United States, the governor or attorney general of any of the States, or labor department of any State in the United States. Your bill has no such provision. It differs also in that this bill provides for the discouragement of subservice doctrine and propaganda, and things of that kind, in order to preserve the peaceful tradition of this race living in the midst of another race with whom we have lived so long. I have studied both bills and I know they differ very materially.

Mr. CELLER. Your section 4 and my section 4 are very much alike. Of course, I do not provide for the discouragement of the subversive doctrine and propaganda, but that is not material.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, and Members of the committee, I have brought some of the outstanding colored men of the country here to testify before you. First I would like to call Dr. Moton, president emeritus of Tuskegee College, who succeeded the late Dr. Booker T. Washington.

STATEMENT OF DR. ROBERT R. MOTON, PRESIDENT EMERITUS OF TUSKEGEE COLLEGE, TUSKEGEE, ALA.

Mr. MOTON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am in hearty accord with this bill. I talked with Mr. Mitchell on the long-distance telephone some time in March or February, before the bill was introduced, and I did not see any objection to it so far as I am concerned.

I am not speaking for the whole Negro race, but giving you my own opinion, and I cannot see any objection to the bill, but on the other hand I can see many reasons why it would be most helpful.

We have an interracial commission in Atlanta, of which I was one of the charter members, to help the conditions of white and colored people living together, particularly in the South, and to better the public relations among them than had hitherto taken place between them. That commission has done a wonderful work, and the passage of this bill would greatly encourage them in what they have been trying to do.

Some objection may be raised on the ground that Government is putting itself on record as segregating the Negro race. As to that, segregation or separation is a fact in the United States, in Boston as well as in New Orleans, or in Memphis, or in Atlanta.

While I deplore anything that smacks of race or color or enforced race segregations, and am unalterably opposed to it, yet we are dealing with facts and not theory. The Negro is pretty near the bottom of the economic strata in this country. He has not been taken care of; he has not been in the line of thinking of the average white person. Nobody sets out to embarrass him at all, but he is not in their clubs, he is out of their social relationship, he does not meet them in the hotels, and he does not know and does not have a chance to know what they are doing.

A great banker, a former president of the Chase National Bank, once told me that the New York bankers did not think of money south of Baltimore and Washington. That is nothing against the South or the money of the South, but the only thing was they thought in the terms of Wall Street, the terms of big banks and big business; and in just the same way the average white person does not plan economically or educationally for the Negro—he is left out.

This bill, we hope, will help them to think in terms of the large number of Negroes, some 9,000,000 who live south of Washington, and I am therefore in hearty accord with this bill and hope very much it will have your approval. I thank you.

Mr. MITCHELL. Before introducing the next witness I have a statement I wish to read into the record, which comes from Mr. T. V. Smith, a teacher in the Department of Philosophy in the University of Chicago, and who is now a State Senator in the General Assembly of the State of Illinois. His statement reads:

I am heartily in favor of H. R. 5733. The chief objection I hear to it arises from the feeling it would further segregation. Against that objection I set this more substantial and realistic observation, a people whose present status is so nearly at the bottom of industrial opportunity as to constitute the standing shame of American democracy, is not in a position effectively to disavow special treatment.

The Negroes have always received special treatment in America, but in reverse; let them now receive special consideration upward, slowly to counteract the old downward lag. This I understand to be the intent and believe to be the assured effect of the Industrial Commission envisioned in H. R. 5733, introduced by my friend Congressman Mitchell.

I can see no objection to the Commission save the pride of a race which now needs some of the fruits of its commendable pride. This Commission, when created, can begin at once to produce some proud fruits of pride; and I should urge its creation out of sheer justice to a group whose contributions to American life I rate very high indeed.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question of Dr. Moton?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes; Mr. Celler.

Mr. CELLER. Your predecessor was Dr. Durkee; is that correct?

Dr. MOTON. No; my predecessor was Dr. Washington. Dr. Durkee was of Howard University.

Mr. CELLER. Pardon me, I thought you were from Howard. I wanted to say, Dr. Durkee testified some 8 or 9 years ago on a bill which was exactly like mine which had been introduced by former Congressman Foster, of Ohio. We had an exhaustive hearing on that bill and Dr. Durkee drew attention to the fact, as head of Howard University, that there was a woeful lack of colored doctors and dentists and indicated at that time the great disparity between the number of white doctors and the number of colored doctors, and he showed where, if there should be an epidemic in a particular place like New York or Chicago, where there was a great number of colored people, that the epidemic would attack with greater virulence the colored population because of the fewer number of doctors in the colored population, and one of the purposes he saw for the passage of the bill was, drawing attention to that fact, it might remedy that situation.

Mr. GREGORY. You may call your next witness, Mr. Mitchell.

Mr. MITCHELL. I will now call on Hon. Perry W. Howard, National Republican committeeman from the State of Mississippi.

STATEMENT OF PERRY W. HOWARD, NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEEMAN FROM THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I will take just a little of your time. Like Dr. Moton, I am a southerner. As he stated, the great preponderating number of our racial group is in the Southland, and when we propose commissions, committees, and such looking to the adjustment of conditions that particularly affect us, naturally we have to look to the South. If we can work them out there, the colored man in other sections will benefit from what we can do for the great masses in the Southland.

I am convinced that this bill is practical, it is workable, and it will have a very salutary effect upon the interracial conditions throughout the country.

As we stated, we are face to face with a condition, and not a theory. The colored man has always had the honor of being an exception. When it comes to dealing with matters in this country he has been the exception, as stated by Mr. Smith, in the lower strata. Why not make him the exception in the reverse, when we are working upwardly, progressively, if we can.

I think a commission made up of earnest, serious, well-trained men, who love their country, and who without bias or prejudice, looking to the betterment of interracial conditions, will be the best thing we have had in this country.

Whenever you Members of Congress, whenever the schoolroom, whenever the pulpit, wish to propose some manner in which these conditions can be worked out, no one has made sufficient study to constitute a safe and sane advisor for you. This commission, as I understand it, provided for in this well-worded bill, I think just fits the situation. This commission will study these problems, it will gather statistics and information, and will be prepared to advise the Congress, both the upper and the lower houses, and will be in a

position to advise the church, or the schoolroom, or any other agencies that propose to work out and help in this situation.

Now there is no need of any argument that this is a segregation, that this is a segregated matter. The only suggestion in opposition to this matter I have heard was by a segregated organization, so that I do not think that should be considered at all.

I think the bill ought to be passed. I think it will do great good, and I feel it will be especially good since it is nonpartisan, its make-up will not be political, and that is just what we need.

I think we owe Congressman Mitchell quite a debt of gratitude for introducing a bill which is so valuable and far reaching. Of course it will be opposed by the radical element, but I do not think the Congress, any more than other good Americans, is paying any attention to the radicals. I happen to be one of those who does not think there is any place in this country for radicals, whether they be black radicals, white radicals, or other radicals, and I think they should be told to leave us to work out our peaceful relationship between ourselves.

Mr. MICHENER. I would like to ask a question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GREGORY. You may do so.

Mr. MICHENER. You said it had been opposed as a movement for segregation. Do you mean some organizations are opposed to the bill as tending to create further segregation of races?

Mr. HOWARD. Oh, no.

Mr. MICHENER. What do you mean?

Mr. HOWARD. A radical organization is opposed to this bill as encouraging a further segregation of the colored race.

Mr. MICHENER. What organization is that?

Mr. HOWARD. I understood unofficially that the Organization for the Advancement of the Colored People, which is an organization purely for the benefit of colored people had some opposition to it, although I have not heard it expressed here today.

Mr. MICHENER. That is an organization that was created in Ohio and Massachusetts?

Mr. HOWARD. The headquarters are in New York City, and it was organized by Dr. DuBoise, who was at one time the antithesis to Dr. Washington, but I understand Dr. DuBoise has now joined with Dr. Kelly Miller.

Mr. PERKINS. Is that the organization that advocates the settling of a State of colored people?

Mr. HOWARD. The organization does not, but recently Dr. DuBoise has suggested that. However, it was not taken seriously because it was regarded as wholly visionary.

Mr. GREGORY. You may call your next witness, if any, Mr. Mitchell.

Mr. MITCHELL. Next we will have Dr. J. E. Mitchell, editor of The Argus, of St. Louis.

STATEMENT OF J. E. MITCHELL, EDITOR OF THE ARGUS, OF ST. LOUIS, MO.

Mr. MITCHELL. Gentlemen, I am pleased to be here to say a word in behalf of this bill, and I am pleased to look into your faces, because they speak and tell me you are interested in this group which I represent.

I do not see, I do not think, I am unable to visualize, any legislation which might come before the Congress of the United States that would be more beneficial generally to my group throughout the United States than will this bill if enacted into law.

My people generally, reaching them all, giving them a voice as it were, with all of the eyes and the ears of public opinion, feel this way, and I think, if for no other reason, you should pass this bill, you would take that into consideration, you can do more good, you can render the greatest service to the people I represent by passing this bill than anything else I know.

I hope, I wish, I ask, and I plead with you to give this bill your most earnest consideration and pass it, for the sake of my people.

Mr. GREGORY. Who will be your next witness.

Mr. MITCHELL. We have several Congressmen who represent a colored constituency, who have come here to say a word about this bill, and I will first ask Congressman O'Neal, of Louisville, Ky., to say a word.

STATEMENT OF HON. EMMET O'NEAL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF KENTUCKY

Mr. O'NEAL. Gentlemen, I will be very brief. I would like to say I am in favor of this bill because I think it is one of the first attempts to get at a problem which is very fundamental in our country.

I do not know the exact number, but I think it is something over ten million colored people and I believe their problem is a distinct problem. I think so often we pass laws in this country and then expect the psychology of the people to meet those laws, rather than look at the psychology of the people then pass the laws to meet that. I refer to relief, reemployment, and work of that sort.

I have read a great deal about the colored problem and have studied it a great deal, but I realize one thing, that no white man or no member of any other race, can possibly see a race problem as a member of that race. That is one reason I am in favor of this bill. We have here a commission that is set up with colored people on it, and nobody knows the reactions of things in this country pertaining to the colored people as the colored people know it.

I have not time to go into this in any great detail and I know you gentlemen are rushed, but how many of you here, or of any of us, know the fundamental business opportunities for the colored people. In my district, and we have thousands of them there, I have no idea personally what is the business opportunity for the ambitious young colored man there. We have in my community, and this is true of every other city community, thousands of men who are born agriculturists, colored people who worked on a farm all of their lives and understand how to make a living there, but who are lost in the city. That is what I mean by psychology and facts preceding legislation.

A comprehensive study of that situation and other situations by the colored people on the commission I think will develop laws along the subsistence and homestead lines and self-support that will correct some of the greatest evils in this country. I, therefore, think if we are going to get anything fundamentally for the 10,000,000 colored people, we will have to have a commission to advise our legislators.

As to the colored people we know that have special talents. We know the colored people have musical talents and other talents that have never been developed. There are special needs and distinct possibilities for this great group of patriotic Americans, and they have always been patriotic, that in my opinion the white legislators in this country do not know and do not appreciate. This bill will help get some information along that line, when you have a committee of colored people recommending to Congress from their point of view what should be done to aid the colored people to be more self-supporting and better citizens.

Mr. PERKINS. Is this commission designed to be wholly a fact-finding commission?

Mr. O'NEAL. It has only recommendatory powers, is my understanding.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, we will next call Dr. Alain Locke, of Howard University.

**STATEMENT OF DR. ALAIN LOCKE, OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY,
WASHINGTON, D. C.**

Dr. LOCKE. Mr. Chairman, I have prepared a statement in support of this bill, and I believe it would save your time for me to read that statement.

I am unreservedly in favor of H. R. 5733, the bill to create an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs, introduced by Hon. Arthur W. Mitchell of Illinois. I believe it a measure of constructive statesmanship and practical justice. It will create a coordinating agency for referring constructive suggestions not only to the Federal Government, but to the government of the States, for remedial legislation and the encouragement of more liberal administrative policies affecting the considerably disadvantaged Negro population.

The crux of present disabilities under which the Negro population suffers is economic and industrial in nature. A nonpartisan commission employing fact-finding experts is certainly one of the best ways of starting to work constructively upon this situation. Various Federal departments already have the policy of special Negro advisers and experts connected with the department. Even for the more effective functioning of such officials a clearing-house agency is important. But the main difficulty in this current practice is the lack of independence on the part of such attached Negro advisers, since they are geared into the general program of the department and can rarely initiate new or special remedial programs as applying to the Negro. Their main use has been to see that the general measures apply with some degree of fairness to the Negro constituency coming in range of the program.

A centralized commission of much more independent nature and much more direct relationship to the Congress and the Executive will not only have greater influence but will be able to recommend and initiate special remedial suggestions and measures.

Further, I see in the consultation of such a commission by the executives of the several States a means of effecting without coercion which is so objected to often in direct Federal legislation a general

improvement in State policies and programs concerning the Negro citizenry.

Mr. Mitchell, I think, has some material from State executives saying they would be glad to consult the findings of a central Federal commission, I believe.

The commission creates a new agency, but no new policy, and therefore cannot consistently be opposed either on the ground of unwarrantable segregation from the side of the Negro population or special class consideration from the point of view of the general public. Both principles have already been conceded in the Government machinery and policy, and are in my judgment warranted not only by the special needs of the masses of Negroes, but by the plain duty of the country in honest justice to a group whose condition arises largely from previous discrimination and handicap.

If the spirit and letter of this bill are carried out a great forward constructive step will have been taken in Government policy toward the Negro.

I hope the committee will, after consideration, favorably report this bill, and we wish to express our appreciation of Mr. Mitchell's introducing it and bringing us here to testify.

Mr. MITCHELL. I will now ask Mr. Scipio Jones, attorney at law, Little Rock, Ark., to be the next witness.

STATEMENT OF SCIPIO JONES, ATTORNEY AT LAW, LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it would be presumptuous on my part to attempt to add anything to what has already been said by these gentlemen who are here with me.

I am heartily in favor of the bill. I am familiar with the needs of our people of my group, and I know what a benefit an agency or fact finding commission of this kind would be to them.

The white people in this country are very busy with their own affairs and they have not the time always to go into the details of anything that affects my group, but this commission would have ample time to get our case and prepare it in shape to present to the different branches of our Government.

I see my friend Congressman Miller from Arkansas here; he is a great friend of my people, and I know he will look after our interest carefully on this committee. The jury is already packed on you gentlemen.

I am very thankful for the opportunity to appear before you. I think this Congress has made a remarkable record, and I think if you adjourn without the enactment of this bill your record will be incomplete.

I thank you.

Mr. MITCHELL. We are now going to have a word from Congressman Dingell, from the Fifteenth Congressional District of Michigan, a district that has a great many colored voters.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN D. DINGELL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE FIFTEENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I want to state very briefly that I favor the earliest possible consideration and passage of H. R. 5733, introduced by my friend Arthur Mitchell of Illinois.

In reading the bill and discussing it with Mr. Mitchell, I am convinced it will have a very beneficial effect upon the people who are entitled to the benefit chiefly, and that is the Negro people of this country. I am sure it will go a long way toward the elimination of any possible misunderstandings, and we know from time to time they arise.

I contend that unless Congress recognizes the problem and makes some provision to eliminate it, the situation will grow worse as time goes on. We cannot solve the problem by merely denying that it exists. It is absolutely mandatory that Congress in its farsightedness and wisdom should recognize this problem which has been brought to the fore by the Congressman from the First Illinois District and should make every effort to arrive at a solution.

I should like the privilege of including a statement before the committee which might be made a part of the record, in order to conserve the time of the committee.

Mr. GREGORY. Without objection that may be done.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Dingell, how many colored people have we in Detroit?

Mr. DINGELL. I should say roughly we must have 250,000, possibly even more than that.

Mr. MICHENER. How many did we have 25 years ago?

Mr. CELLER. You have 120,000 in Detroit as shown in this bulletin United States Bureau of Census, 1930.

Mr. MICHENER. We have 250,000 now. We had 130,000 in 1930, and that shows it is increasing rapidly.

Mr. CELLER. One hundred and twenty thousand, I said.

Mr. MICHENER. The Negro population is increasing rapidly.

Mr. DINGELL. It has increased of course, and when we speak of Detroit, we mean the metropolitan area, which includes a part of Wayne County. I should say 200,000 would be a conservative estimate. Twenty-five years ago, Mr. Michener, we had just a handful along Bobine Street and down in Rowena, just that one spot, and now the Negro people are to be found all over the city and the county, because they are very numerous.

Mr. GREGORY. I suggest in connection with the discussion of the colored population, that the statement of population in the bulletin referred to by Mr. Celler be included in the record.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman I shall see that the bulletin is inserted.

(The bulletin referred to is as follows:)

**NEGRO POPULATION, 1930—A LISTING OF THE 695 CITIES AND URBAN PLACES
HAVING 1,000 OR MORE NEGRO INHABITANTS**

[U. S. Department of Commerce, Daniel C. Roper, Secretary, Bureau of the Census, William Lane Austin, Director]

The 695 cities and urban places having 1,000 or more Negro inhabitants, by groups

[Compiled by Charles E. Hall]

Groups	Number of cities	Negro population		
		Total group cities (number)	Percent of total Negro population	Average number per city
Total.....	695	4,837,355	40.7	6,960
100,000 or more.....	7	1,305,090	11.0	186,440
50,000 to 99,999.....	8	622,489	5.2	77,811
25,000 to 49,999.....	19	702,258	5.9	36,961
10,000 to 24,999.....	46	706,122	5.9	15,350
5,000 to 9,999.....	67	455,253	3.8	6,795
2,500 to 4,999.....	116	394,061	3.3	3,397
1,000 to 2,499.....	432	652,072	5.5	1,509

Number of cities having 10,000 or more Negro population, by States

Alabama.....	4	Michigan.....	1
Arkansas.....	1	Mississippi.....	3
California.....	1	Missouri.....	2
Delaware.....	1	Nebraska.....	1
District of Columbia.....	1	New Jersey.....	4
Florida.....	3	New York.....	2
Georgia.....	5	North Carolina.....	7
Illinois.....	2	Ohio.....	7
Indiana.....	2	Oklahoma.....	2
Kansas.....	1	Pennsylvania.....	2
Kentucky.....	2	South Carolina.....	3
Louisiana.....	4	Tennessee.....	4
Maryland.....	1	Texas.....	7
Massachusetts.....	1	Virginia.....	0

Negro population, 1930; in cities having 1,000 or more negro inhabitants ¹

100,000 OR MORE

New York, N. Y.....	327,706	Washington, D. C.....	132,068
Chicago, Ill.....	233,903	New Orleans, La.....	129,632
Philadelphia, Pa.....	219,599	Detroit, Mich.....	120,066
Baltimore, Md.....	142,106		

50,000 TO 99,999

Birmingham, Ala.....	99,077	Cleveland, Ohio.....	71,899
Memphis, Tenn.....	96,550	Houston, Tex.....	63,337
St. Louis, Mo.....	93,580	Pittsburgh, Pa.....	54,983
Atlanta Ga.....	90,075	Richmond, Va.....	52,988

25,000 TO 49,999

Jacksonville, Fla.....	48,196	Kansas City, Mo.....	38,574
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	47,818	Chattanooga, Tenn.....	33,289
Louisville, Ky.....	47,354	Columbus, Ohio.....	32,774
Indianapolis, Ind.....	43,967	Winston-Salem, N. C.....	32,566
Norfolk, Va.....	43,942	Montgomery, Ala.....	29,970
Nashville, Tenn.....	42,836	Charleston, S. C.....	28,062
Savannah, Ga.....	38,896	Shreveport, La.....	27,219
Los Angeles, Calif.....	38,894	Charlotte, N. C.....	25,163
Newark, N. J.....	38,800	Miami, Fla.....	25,116
Dallas, Tex.....	38,742		

¹ See footnote at end of list.

Negro population, 1930; in cities having 1,000 or more negro inhabitants—Con.

10,000 TO 24,999

Mobile, Ala.....	24, 514	Greensboro, N. C.....	14, 050
Augusta, Ga.....	24, 190	Buffalo, N. Y.....	13, 563
Macon, Ga.....	23, 158	Newport News, Va.....	13, 281
Fort Worth, Tex.....	22, 234	Toledo, Ohio.....	13, 260
Tampa, Fla.....	21, 172	Galveston, Tex.....	13, 226
Boston, Mass.....	20, 574	Wilmington, N. C.....	13, 106
Kansas City, Kans.....	19, 872	Lexington, Ky.....	12, 759
Little Rock, Ark.....	19, 698	Petersburg, Va.....	12, 600
Columbia, S. C.....	19, 519	Jersey City, N. J.....	12, 575
Jackson, Miss.....	19, 423	Raleigh, N. C.....	12, 575
Portsmouth, Va.....	18, 849	Roanoke, Va.....	12, 368
Durham, N. C.....	18, 717	Wilmington, Del.....	12, 080
Beaumont, Tex.....	18, 551	Vicksburg, Miss.....	11, 915
San Antonio, Tex.....	17, 978	Bessemer, Ala.....	11, 691
Gary, Ind.....	17, 922	East St. Louis, Ill.....	11, 536
Knoxville, Tenn.....	17, 093	Meridian, Miss.....	11, 352
Dayton, Ohio.....	17, 077	Camden, N. J.....	11, 340
Atlantic City, N. J.....	15, 611	Omaha, Nebr.....	11, 123
Tulsa, Okla.....	15, 203	Akron, Ohio.....	11, 080
Oklahoma City, Okla.....	14, 602	Greenville, S. C.....	10, 871
Youngstown, Ohio.....	14, 552	Baton Rouge, La.....	10, 675
Asheville, N. C.....	14, 255	Monroe, La.....	10, 112
Columbus, Ga.....	14, 157	Port Arthur, Tex.....	10, 003

5,000 TO 9,999

Austin, Tex.....	9, 868	Montclair, N. J.....	6, 384
Spartanburg, S. C.....	9, 826	Harrisburg, Pa.....	6, 382
Lynchburg, Va.....	9, 653	Athens, Ga.....	6, 378
Pensacola, Fla.....	9, 583	Gadsden, Ala.....	6, 345
Alexandria, La.....	9, 546	New Bern, N. C.....	6, 277
Waco, Tex.....	9, 370	Valdosta, Ga.....	6, 265
Selma, Ala.....	9, 249	Wilson, N. C.....	6, 205
Chester, Pa.....	9, 245	Dothan, Ala.....	6, 194
West Palm Beach, Fla.....	8, 999	Pine Bluff, Ark.....	6, 163
Rocky Mount, N. C.....	8, 702	North Little Rock, Ark.....	6, 097
Greenville, Miss.....	8, 370	Thomasville, Ga.....	6, 074
Springfield, Ohio.....	8, 249	Florence, S. C.....	6, 067
Trenton, N. J.....	8, 057	Brunswick, Ga.....	6, 049
Jackson, Tenn.....	7, 595	Waycross, Ga.....	5, 956
Orlando, Fla.....	7, 590	Lake Charles, La.....	5, 948
Oakland, Calif.....	7, 503	Topeka, Kans.....	5, 756
Milwaukee, Wis.....	7, 501	Flint, Mich.....	5, 725
St. Petersburg, Fla.....	7, 416	Wichita, Kans.....	5, 623
Albany, Ga.....	7, 394	Danville, Va.....	5, 519
Highpoint, N. C.....	7, 229	Providence, R. I.....	5, 473
Denver, Colo.....	7, 204	La Grange, Ga.....	5, 471
Anniston, Ala.....	7, 161	Des Moines, Iowa.....	5, 428
Natchez, Miss.....	7, 159	Daytona Beach, Fla.....	5, 426
Tuscaloosa, Ala.....	7, 075	Cambridge, Mass.....	5, 419
Goldshoro, N. C.....	6, 868	Greenwood, Miss.....	5, 385
Laurel, Miss.....	6, 838	Fayetteville, N. C.....	5, 357
Hattiesburg, Miss.....	6, 811	New Haven, Conn.....	5, 302
Paducah, Ky.....	6, 744	Sumter, S. C.....	5, 145
Charleston, W. Va.....	6, 734	East Chicago, Ind.....	5, 088
Marshall, Tex.....	6, 693	Kinston, N. C.....	5, 062
Muskogee, Okla.....	6, 576	Orange, N. J.....	5, 027
Evansville, Ind.....	6, 514	Clarksdale, Miss.....	5, 025
Hartford, Conn.....	6, 510	Lafayette, La.....	5, 013
Fairfield, Ala.....	6, 393		

Negro population, 1930; in cities having 1,000 or more negro inhabitants—Con.

2,500 TO 4,999

Evanston, Ill.	4, 938	Paris, Tex.	3, 265
Texarkana, Tex.	4, 934	Palestine, Tex.	3, 227
Alexandria, Va.	4, 912	Annapolis, Md.	3, 218
Sanford, Fla.	4, 884	Oklmulgee, Okla.	3, 213
East Orange, N. J.	4, 880	Gastonia, N. C.	3, 207
Columbus, Miss.	4, 862	Washington, N. C.	3, 170
Elizabeth, N. J.	4, 761	Gulfport, Miss.	3, 158
Bogalusa, La.	4, 751	Springfield, Mass.	3, 141
Rome, Ga.	4, 737	Troy, Ala.	3, 115
New Rochelle, N. Y.	4, 644	Texarkana, Ark.	3, 109
Huntington, W. Va.	4, 630	Moultrie, Ga.	3, 078
Americus, Ga.	4, 627	Peoria, Ill.	3, 037
Cairo, Ill.	4, 575	Pasadena, Calif.	3, 015
Helena, Ark.	4, 420	Canton, Ohio.	3, 004
Tallahassee, Fla.	4, 401	Palatka, Fla.	3, 000
Wichita Falls, Tex.	4, 312	Ocala, Fla.	2, 953
Greenville, N. C.	4, 233	Paterson, N. J.	2, 952
Hot Springs, Ark.	4, 194	Georgetown, S. C.	2, 920
Minneapolis, Minn.	4, 176	Lower Merion, Pa.	2, 919
Gainesville, Fla.	4, 106	Bainbridge, Ga.	2, 901
Tyler, Tex.	4, 092	Camden, Ark.	2, 872
Charlottesville, Va.	4, 083	Opelousas, La.	2, 858
Hamtramck, Mich.	4, 068	Saginaw, Mich.	2, 853
Phenix City, Ala.	4, 065	Henderson, N. C.	2, 843
St. Joseph, Mo.	4, 055	Dublin, Ga.	2, 806
St. Paul, Minn.	4, 001	Middletown, Ohio.	2, 805
Hopkinsville, Ky.	3, 980	Hampton, Va.	2, 804
Salisbury, N. C.	3, 964	Temple, Tex.	2, 802
Orangeburg, S. C.	3, 952	Grand Rapids, Mich.	2, 795
Lakeland, Fla.	3, 941	Steubenville, Ohio.	2, 776
Decatur, Ala.	3, 867	Yazoo City, Miss.	2, 765
El Dorado, Ark.	3, 836	Florence, Ala.	2, 751
Anderson, S. C.	3, 833	Blytheville, Ark.	2, 731
Huntsville, Ala.	3, 825	San Diego, Calif.	2, 723
Suffolk, Va.	3, 806	Milledgeville, Ga.	2, 719
San Francisco, Calif.	3, 803	Alton, Ill.	2, 714
Elizabeth City, N. C.	3, 722	Dyersburg, Tenn.	2, 695
Plainfield, N. J.	3, 648	Rochester, N. Y.	2, 679
New Bedford, Mass.	3, 631	Opelika, Ala.	2, 674
Mount Vernon, N. Y.	3, 608	Talladega, Ala.	2, 652
Asbury Park, N. J.	3, 549	Muncie, Ind.	2, 646
Greenwood, S. C.	3, 512	Dennison, Tex.	2, 621
Cordele, Ga.	3, 490	Canton, Miss.	2, 619
Aiken, S. C.	3, 489	Bryan, Tex.	2, 599
Fort Smith, Ark.	3, 467	Aliquippa, Pa.	2, 592
Covington, Ky.	3, 466	Crowley, La.	2, 583
Terre Haute, Ind.	3, 461	Darlington, S. C.	2, 572
South Bend, Ind.	3, 431	Danville, Ill.	2, 565
Clarksville, Tenn.	3, 409	Portiac, Mich.	2, 553
Griffin, Ga.	3, 396	Warren, Ohio.	2, 548
Homestead, Pa.	3, 367	Marion, S. C.	2, 547
Bluefield, W. Va.	3, 363	New Iberia, La.	2, 545
Corsicana, Tex.	3, 332	Steelton, Pa.	2, 532
Yonkers, N. Y.	3, 332	Hackensack, N. J.	2, 530
Springfield, Ill.	3, 324	Englewood, N. J.	2, 524
Bridgeport, Conn.	3, 314	Decatur, Ga.	2, 515
Seattle, Wash.	3, 303	Owensboro, Ky.	2, 509
St. Augustine, Fla.	3, 293	Columbia, Tenn.	2, 507

Negro population, 1930; in cities having 1,000 or more negro inhabitants—Con.

1,000 TO 2,499

Navasota, Tex.....	2,483	Lackawanna, N. Y.....	2,051
Camden, S. C.....	2,457	Minden, La.....	2,034
Fort Myers, Fla.....	2,450	Washington, Pa.....	2,029
Biloxi, Miss.....	2,445	Sherman, Tex.....	2,014
Bowling Green, Ky.....	2,426	Hannibal, Mo.....	2,013
Rock Hill, S. C.....	2,410	McComb, Miss.....	2,013
Fort Valley, Ga.....	2,408	Clearwater, Fla.....	2,012
Phoenix, Ariz.....	2,366	Winchester, Ky.....	2,007
Demopolis, Ala.....	2,365	Brooklyn, Ill.....	1,997
Fort Wayne, Ind.....	2,360	Thomaston, Ga.....	1,997
Newnan, Ga.....	2,359	Fort Lauderdale, Fla.....	1,994
Henderson, Ky.....	2,346	Pleasantville, N. J.....	1,992
Tarboro, N. C.....	2,336	Quitman, Ga.....	1,992
Johnson City, Tenn.....	2,335	Brookhaven, Miss.....	1,988
Reidsville, N. C.....	2,333	Columbia, Miss.....	1,988
Albany, N. Y.....	2,324	Hope, Ark.....	1,986
Marianna, Ark.....	2,305	Paris, Tenn.....	1,984
Newberry, S. C.....	2,304	Greenville, Ala.....	1,983
Columbia, Mo.....	2,301	Monroe, N. C.....	1,982
Tuskegee, Ala.....	2,288	Hartsville, S. C.....	1,975
Tupelo, Miss.....	2,284	Forrest City, Ark.....	1,967
Key West, Fla.....	2,274	Concord, N. C.....	1,996
Eufaula, Ala.....	2,273	Reading, Pa.....	1,964
York, Pa.....	2,266	Cuthbert, Ga.....	1,963
Cambridge, Md.....	2,262	Laurens, S. C.....	1,963
Fitzgerald, Ga.....	2,260	Martinsville, Va.....	1,963
Marietta, Ga.....	2,247	Hamilton, Ohio.....	1,958
Terrell, Tex.....	2,239	Ennis, Tex.....	1,954
Waynesboro, Ga.....	2,239	Corpus Christi, Tex.....	1,951
Braddock, Pa.....	2,224	Decatur, Ill.....	1,947
Coatesville, Pa.....	2,222	Plaquemine, La.....	1,931
Dawson, Ga.....	2,209	Fairmont, W. Va.....	1,929
Bayonne, N. J.....	2,205	Waxahachie, Tex.....	1,913
Frankfort, Ky.....	2,205	Salisbury, Md.....	1,912
Chicago Heights, Ill.....	2,198	Grenada, Miss.....	1,906
Wheeling, W. Va.....	2,192	Syracuse, N. Y.....	1,899
Murfreesboro, Tenn.....	2,185	Brenham, Tex.....	1,896
Leavenworth, Kans.....	2,184	Richmond, Ky.....	1,896
Gretna, La.....	2,178	McKeesport, Pa.....	1,893
Berkeley, Calif.....	2,177	Portsmouth, Ohio.....	1,891
West Helena, Ark.....	2,173	Dunn, N. C.....	1,873
Sarasota, Fla.....	2,169	Mexia, Tex.....	1,871
Xenia, Ohio.....	2,166	Neptune, N. J.....	1,869
Jefferson City, Mo.....	2,164	Taylor, Tex.....	1,869
Chester, S. C.....	2,159	Campbell, Ohio.....	1,858
Orange, Tex.....	2,150	Passaic, N. J.....	1,858
White Plains, N. Y.....	2,150	Natchitoches, La.....	1,856
Hammond, La.....	2,147	El Paso, Tex.....	1,855
River Rouge, Mich.....	2,145	Quincy, Fla.....	1,847
Union, S. C.....	2,142	Picayune, Miss.....	1,827
Richmond, Ind.....	2,139	Coffeyville, Kans.....	1,824
Stamford, Conn.....	2,138	Duquesne, Pa.....	1,817
Shelby, N. C.....	2,125	Staunton, Va.....	1,805
West Point, Miss.....	2,121	Battle Creek, Mich.....	1,795
Norristown, Pa.....	2,118	Danville, Ky.....	1,789
Sedalia, Mo.....	2,106	Madisonville, Ky.....	1,783
Plant City, Fla.....	2,091	Cheraw, S. C.....	1,782
Greenville, Tex.....	2,086	Springfield, Mo.....	1,779
New Brunswick, N. J.....	2,086	Zanesville, Ohio.....	1,776
West Chester, Pa.....	2,086	Aberdeen, Miss.....	1,773
Clairton, Pa.....	2,070	Crockett, Tex.....	1,772
Ardmore, Okla.....	2,069	Homewood, Ala.....	1,771
Prichard, Ala.....	2,059	Washington, Ga.....	1,766
Gainesville, Ga.....	2,051	Guthrie, Okla.....	1,759

Negro population, 1930; in cities having 1,000 or more negro inhabitants—Con.

1,000 TO 2,499—Continued

Longview, Tex.	1,737	Pompano, Fla.	1,487
River Junction, Fla.	1,733	Fernandina, Fla.	1,484
South Boston, Va.	1,726	Edenton, N. C.	1,473
Bartow, Fla.	1,715	Hamlet, N. C.	1,463
Lake Providence, La.	1,706	Belzoni, Miss.	1,461
South Norfolk, Va.	1,703	Mansfield, La.	1,446
Tallulah, La.	1,701	Johnstown, Pa.	1,444
Hickory, N. C.	1,696	Lawrence, Kans.	1,437
Jackson, Mich.	1,692	Pass Christian, Miss.	1,437
Marlin, Tex.	1,676	Williamston, N. C.	1,436
Thomasville, N. C.	1,672	Lima, Ohio.	1,422
Morgan City, La.	1,660	Leesburg, Fla.	1,421
Waterbury, Conn.	1,660	Ecorse, Mich.	1,417
San Angelo, Tex.	1,653	Union City, Tenn.	1,417
Statesville, N. C.	1,648	Carbondale, Ill.	1,409
Union, N. J.	1,633	Lansing, Mich.	1,409
Chickasha, Okla.	1,625	Burlington, N. J.	1,408
Dermott, Ark.	1,625	Newport, Ark.	1,406
Williamson, W. Va.	1,624	Pensauken, N. J.	1,406
Humboldt, Tenn.	1,623	Abilene, Tex.	1,403
Venice, Ill.	1,619	Cedartown, Ga.	1,400
Cartersville, Ga.	1,615	Lexington, Miss.	1,397
College Park, Ga.	1,613	Brownsville, Tenn.	1,394
Indianola, Miss.	1,612	Donaldsonville, La.	1,394
Jacksonville, Tex.	1,611	Anderson, Ind.	1,387
Oxford, N. C.	1,611	Jenkins, Ky.	1,386
Long Branch, N. J.	1,609	Worcester, Mass.	1,378
Farrell, Pa.	1,606	Morristown, N. J.	1,377
Bastrop, La.	1,604	Leland, Miss.	1,376
Elberton, Ga.	1,601	Bossier City, La.	1,374
Amarillo, Tex.	1,600	Springfield, Tenn.	1,369
Beckley, W. Va.	1,599	Darby, Pa.	1,367
Corinth, Miss.	1,599	Huntsville, Tex.	1,363
Champaign, Ill.	1,598	Nacogdoches, Tex.	1,362
Red Bank, N. J.	1,596	Starkville, Miss.	1,361
Alcoa, Tenn.	1,587	Franklin, Tenn.	1,352
Gaffney, S. C.	1,580	Franklin, Va.	1,351
Union Springs, Ala.	1,578	Lufkin, Tex.	1,349
Wewoka, Okla.	1,575	McAlester, Okla.	1,348
New Castle, Pa.	1,572	Franklin, La.	1,339
East Point, Ga.	1,569	Abington, Pa.	1,334
Portland, Oreg.	1,559	Apalachicola, Fla.	1,329
Rankin, Pa.	1,556	Atmore, Ala.	1,327
Sandersville, Ga.	1,550	Beaufort, S. C.	1,323
Winter Haven, Fla.	1,556	Hopewell, Va.	1,318
Newport, R. I.	1,554	Jonesboro, Ark.	1,316
Frederick, Md.	1,551	Brewton, Ala.	1,314
Bennettsville, S. C.	1,541	Highland Park, Tex.	1,311
Roselle, N. J.	1,538	Winfield, La.	1,310
Bradentown, Fla.	1,536	Joliet, Ill.	1,309
Lexington, N. C.	1,533	Pueblo, Colo.	1,306
Paris, Ky.	1,533	Eastman, Ga.	1,304
Sheffield, Ala.	1,531	Lenoir, N. C.	1,303
Bridgeton, N. J.	1,526	Fordyce, Ark.	1,302
Atchison, Kans.	1,517	Lake City, Fla.	1,301
Hagerstown, Md.	1,517	Statesboro, Ga.	1,301
Tusculum, Ala.	1,516	Jackson, La.	1,299
De Land, Fla.	1,515	Vidalia, Ga.	1,298
Douglas, Ga.	1,515	Jeffersonville, Ind.	1,296
Brinkley, Ark.	1,507	Ypsilanti, Mich.	1,294
Abbeville, S. C.	1,502	Stamps, Ark.	1,293
Ferriday, La.	1,501	New Albany, Ind.	1,292
Mullins, S. C.	1,500	Conway, S. C.	1,290
Salem, N. J.	1,498	Hearne, Tex.	1,289

Negro population, 1930; in cities having 1,000 or more negro inhabitants—Con.

1,000 TO 2,499—Continued

Hillsboro, Tex.	1, 289	Patterson, La.	1, 154
Cairo, Ga.	1, 286	Kosciusko, Miss.	1, 153
Lancaster, Pa.	1, 281	Fayetteville, Tenn.	1, 150
Earlington, Ky.	1, 279	Mayfield, Ky.	1, 147
Parsons, Kans.	1, 277	Deerfield, Fla.	1, 146
Chillicothe, Ohio.	1, 275	Jennings, La.	1, 146
Farmville, Va.	1, 269	Quincy, Ill.	1, 145
Clinton, S. C.	1, 261	Kokomo, Ind.	1, 143
Summit, N. J.	1, 261	Eudora, Ark.	1, 142
Hendersonville, N. C.	1, 258	Morristown, Tenn.	1, 141
Laurinburg, N. C.	1, 258	Athens, Tex.	1, 140
Andalusia, Ala.	1, 257	Tooea, Ga.	1, 139
De Ridder, La.	1, 255	Wynne, Ark.	1, 139
Covington, Tenn.	1, 249	Prescott, Ark.	1, 131
New Smyrna, Fla.	1, 249	Barnesville, Ga.	1, 124
Alexander City, Ala.	1, 244	Lumberton, N. C.	1, 123
Houma, La.	1, 244	Shelbyville, Ky.	1, 123
Mexico, Mo.	1, 244	Winona, Miss.	1, 123
McGehee, Ark.	1, 236	Cuero, Tex.	1, 117
Newport, Ky.	1, 231	Rockingham, N. C.	1, 116
Fort Pierce, Fla.	1, 226	Abbeville, La.	1, 115
Thibodaux, La.	1, 226	Covington, Va.	1, 114
Lawnside, N. J.	1, 224	Dover, Del.	1, 113
Covington, Ga.	1, 219	Forrest, Miss.	1, 111
Massillon, Ohio.	1, 219	Rockford, Ill.	1, 110
Fredericksburg, Va.	1, 218	Centralia, Ill.	1, 108
Rayne, La.	1, 216	Ossining, N. Y.	1, 107
Welch, W. Va.	1, 216	Uniontown, Pa.	1, 107
Erie, Pa.	1, 214	Calvert, Tex.	1, 106
Waterloo, Iowa.	1, 214	Caruthersville, Mo.	1, 105
Clarksburg, W. Va.	1, 211	Independence, Kans.	1, 104
Fairmont Heights, Md.	1, 211	Plymouth, N. C.	1, 102
Belhaven, N. C.	1, 210	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	1, 101
Rosedale, Miss.	1, 210	Lubbock, Tex.	1, 100
Water Valley, Miss.	1, 205	Victoria, Tex.	1, 100
Monessen, Pa.	1, 201	Roxboro, N. C.	1, 098
Ruston, La.	1, 201	Holly Springs, Miss.	1, 097
Attalla, Ala.	1, 200	Allendale, S. C.	1, 095
Wadesboro, N. C.	1, 197	Winnboro, S. C.	1, 091
Lancaster, S. C.	1, 196	East Spencer, N. C.	1, 088
Inkster, Mich.	1, 195	Pahokee, Fla.	1, 088
Cleveland, Miss.	1, 189	Sacramento, Calif.	1, 086
Auburn, Ala.	1, 188	Malvern, Ark.	1, 084
Ozark, Ala.	1, 188	Pulaski, Tenn.	1, 083
Shelbyville, Tenn.	1, 187	Ansonia, Conn.	1, 082
Bristol, Va.	1, 184	Earle, Ark.	1, 081
Georgetown, Ky.	1, 184	Lumberton, Miss.	1, 080
Montezuma, Ga.	1, 182	Lexington, Va.	1, 076
Winter Park, Fla.	1, 181	Macon, Miss.	1, 072
Manatee, Fla.	1, 810	Michigan City, Ind.	1, 071
Maysville, Ky.	1, 180	Sanford, N. C.	1, 070
Stuttgart, Ark.	1, 179	Cleveland, Tenn.	1, 069
Duraut, Miss.	1, 176	Cameron, Tex.	1, 066
Clifton Forge, Va.	1, 175	Louisville, Miss.	1, 064
Fulton, Mo.	1, 174	Sioux City, Iowa.	1, 064
Lebanon, Tenn.	1, 174	Point Gibson, Miss.	1, 062
Palmetto, Fla.	1, 174	Ocilla, Ga.	1, 057
Crossett, Ark.	1, 172	Marion, Ind.	1, 056
Highland Park, Mich.	1, 171	Summersville, S. C.	1, 055
Acadia, Fla.	1, 169	Mount Olive, N. C.	1, 054
Lockland, Ohio.	1, 164	Jacksonville, Ill.	1, 053
Cumberland, Md.	1, 161	Perry, Fla.	1, 053
Kingstree, S. C.	1, 158	Princeton, N. J.	1, 053
Jasper, Tex.	1, 157	Elyria, Ohio.	1, 052

Negro population, 1930; in cities having 1,000 or more negro inhabitants—Con.

1,000 TO 2,499—Continued

Ponchatoula, La.....	1, 050	Jefferson, Tex.....	1, 022
Bay St. Louis, Miss.....	1, 047	Easton, Md.....	1, 021
Martinsburg, W. Va.....	1, 046	Middlesboro, Ky.....	1, 021
Hawkinsville, Ga.....	1, 045	Westfield, N. J.....	1, 019
Pulaski, Va.....	1, 045	Morgantown, N. C.....	1, 018
Rusk, Tex.....	1, 044	St. Martinsville, La.....	1, 018
Shawnee, Okla.....	1, 044	Waukegan, Ill.....	1, 017
Winchester, Va.....	1, 043	Homer, La.....	1, 016
Northport, Ala.....	1, 042	Madison, Fla.....	1, 015
Batesburg, S. C.....	1, 041	Providence, Ky.....	1, 014
Hazellhurst, Miss.....	1, 041	Seguin, Tex.....	1, 014
Sapulpa, Okla.....	1, 039	Madison, Ill.....	1, 013
West Point, Ga.....	1, 039	Marion, Ala.....	1, 013
Live Oak, Fla.....	1, 038	Bamberg, S. C.....	1, 012
Mount Sterling, Ky.....	1, 036	Beaufort, N. C.....	1, 008
Marianna, Fla.....	1, 033	St. Matthews, S. C.....	1, 007
New Albany, Miss.....	1, 033	Henderson, Tex.....	1, 006
Millen, Ga.....	1, 030	Enterprise, Ala.....	1, 005
Trenton, Tenn.....	1, 029	Swainsboro, Ga.....	1, 005
Dalton, Ga.....	1, 028	Sulphur Springs, Tex.....	1, 005
Osceola, Ark.....	1, 027	Tucson, Ariz.....	1, 003
Moberly, Mo.....	1, 024	Everett, Mass.....	1, 002
Belleville, N. J.....	1, 023	Lafayette, Ala.....	1, 001
Carrollton, Ga.....	1, 023	Okolona, Miss.....	1, 000

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, all of the witnesses who have come from a distance have been heard; and if the committee is willing to sit longer, I shall be happy to call Dr. Miller, of Howard University.

Mr. GREGORY. You may proceed with the other witnesses.

STATEMENT OF DR. KELLY MILLER, OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Dr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, I wish to qualify as a competent witness by saying that I, too, am a southerner. I was born a barefoot colored boy in South Carolina. All colored boys were born barefoot in my day.

I wish to start my remarks by anticipating an objection that this bill partakes of the nature of class legislation. The Federal statutes have steered clear, as far as possible, of anything that smacks of class legislation, and it would be a bad principle to inject class legislation into our statutes unless it becomes absolutely necessary.

Nowhere does the Federal Government recognize race discrimination in any manner or form, but it does recognize race distinction. Under race discrimination you have differentiated treatment on account of race or color; but nowhere does the Federal Government recognize that, and not even do the Southern States recognize it, on the face of the law, although it might work out that way in practice.

It does recognize race distinction, where the races are treated by separate formulae even, such as, for example, the different schools set up in the District of Columbia, and also the hospitals, and the colored troops in the United States Army, and other relations.

In none of those relationships has there ever been intended discrimination against the colored race.

I believe there is only one instance in which there is discrimination and that is in favor of the colored race, and it is in the case of the appropriations for Howard University. That is the only exception

in the United States; that is the only case where the appropriation is made for the colored race, but the race suffers so many injustices in other respects that this is merely a little in the way of an offset.

In the immigration laws passed in 1870 the Federal Government does legislate on the basis of race, and there again it favors the Negro race in that it makes the Caucasian and the Negro races the only races that can become American citizens by naturalization, and the discrimination is against the nonwhite and the nonblack races who cannot become citizens by naturalization.

But as a rule we want to keep the distinction out of the law. In the District of Columbia, where we have separate schools, by act of Congress we have a governing board of 9, 6 of whom are white and 3 of whom are colored. When that law was under consideration I appeared and testified that should not be stated in the law; let it be the understanding that 3 members should be colored and 6 white, and so it stands.

It is not the law that the Minister to Liberia shall be a Negro, but it is the understanding.

I am very much in favor of this measure. I think it will result in great good to the Negro people and to the Nation at large, resulting in a way that no other measure can result.

We must recognize these distinctions, because they are so deeply rooted in the minds of American citizens it cannot be otherwise. Segregation is a fact, and it will be a fact until we can remove it. God only knows when that time will come, but in the meantime let us pass this measure and do the best we can in the matter of racial distinctions.

One further word, Mr. Chairman. This bill provides against subversive propaganda. There is subversive propaganda in this country; and it is applied largely to the Negro race because they have many injustices and hardships, and these missionaries of communism are playing upon these maladjustments in order to get members from the race, and I am glad to see this measure legislates against that sort of propaganda.

Congress had a commission to study the Communist propaganda among the people of the United States and to draw attention to its making headway among the Negro people, and among other things I hope this bill will accomplish is that it will put an end to that condition.

We have suffered a great many hardships under the American flag, but after all is said and done, it is the best country on earth for the Negro people, and there is nowhere to go except to find the same treatment they receive under the American flag. I know some think over in Russia they might find a refuge, but Russia has not got to deal with the race problem as we have to deal with it. Their people are substantially all of the same race and color. If they had the distinction of race, color, and tradition as we have in this country, they would not handle it nearly so well as we do in the United States, not even so well as we do in Mississippi.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, these are all of the out-of-town witnesses; but we have here two Members of Congress, one of whom is Congressman Kee, of West Virginia, in whose district I have spoken, and I know he has a great many colored people in that district. I will call on Congressman Kee.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN KEE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. KEE. Mr. Chairman, I represent a district down in West Virginia, on the border line of Virginia and Kentucky, in which we have a population of from forty to fifty thousand Negroes.

The State of West Virginia, of course, has a very large Negro population, and in that State we have been doing all we possibly could for the Negroes.

The Negro question is not a problem, and I have never considered it a problem. I think it is just a condition; it has always been with us since we have been a Republic, and in West Virginia we have been attempting to deal with it.

In our State we have had established for a number of years a bureau of Negro welfare. At the head of that bureau we placed a Negro, and that bureau of Negro welfare has a duty to perform something like the duty that will be given to this Commission. That duty, of course, is within the State.

We give to the Negro race in that State a superintendent of the Negro schools; but no matter how many schools we give them, or what they get, after they are educated and come out of the schools their opportunities are limited, and you find they are back in the mines because they are not given the same opportunity to rise above their origin and environment. In my district alone we have above 28,000 adult Negroes working in the mines.

I believe it is time we should have some national cooperation in the various efforts of the States to meet these conditions which confront us, which, in a way, will gather together, coordinate, and marshal all of the activities of the various States and all of the forces they have been using to better these conditions and draw them all together into one national effort.

The situation, as has been indicated here today, is not any longer confined to the States south of the Mason and Dixon Line, but it is one spreading all over the country. It is no longer a southern problem but is a national one, and this bill should be passed creating this Commission.

Mr. MITCHELL. Congressman Johnson of West Virginia is present, and I ask that the committee will hear him for a few moments.

STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE W. JOHNSON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am interested in the colored race. I was born and reared near Charles Town, W. Va., My people are of southern extraction.

Shortly after the war a town was organized in Jefferson County, W. Va., known as Johnstontown, and it was settled entirely by colored folks; and from that little town sprung up a class of colored people whose influences has spread all over that section. The white people gave them a chance, and anyone who will visit there and investigate that family known as the "Johnson family" will see the wide results and influence of that family throughout that entire section.

Mr. Kee and I are on the border line, so to speak. I think that West Virginia has done as much as any State in the Union to assist

the colored people. In my district we have colored folks who are in all sorts of business—contractors, lawyers, editors, school teachers.

In our State we have undertaken to develop, coordinate, and take care of the colored folks, largely along lines best suited for their race, and I think anyone who would go into that State and investigate would find that the condition of the colored people has greatly improved; and they have very rarely, if at all, undertaken to step out of what they term their racial rights.

Since West Virginia has done a great deal for the colored folks from a State standpoint, it has occurred to me that if the national legislative bodies would pass this bill, that the State of West Virginia, with its set-up could cooperate with the national set-up such as proposed in this bill, and would make it not only a State affair, but a national affair as well. I know nothing of the State set-up so far as colored folks are concerned, in the other States, but I do know what West Virginia has done for the colored folks, with the idea of giving them a chance, along those lines which they themselves feel best suited.

With the passage of this bill, and making it a national affair so that our State authorities could cooperate in a national way it would be very helpful. The fact is the colored people in our district have made great progress and are still making progress, and with this bill passed by Congress I am sure our good folks in the State of West Virginia would be encouraged to go on with the good work we have started.

Mr. MICHENER. As a matter of fact you think this matter should be controlled nationally and that the States themselves should not control the race problem within their own State boundaries?

Mr. JOHNSON. I would not go as far as that; I simply say it is not a State matter altogether, but should cooperate for after all it is a State and national problem.

Mr. MICHENER. I am not asking you, but this bill brings to Washington all authority to do the things set up in the bill and if the commission is set up, we know from experience that the powers will never be curtailed, but will be expanded, and the time may come that our problem in Michigan, if there is such a problem, and Mr. Mitchell's problem in Chicago, if there is such a problem, is the same problem you have in your State, or the same problem that the problem in Texas will be, controlled from here rather than from Chicago, Texas, or Arkansas.

Mr. JOHNSON. No; I would not say that. I would say it is a State affair so far as West Virginia is concerned in the first instance and this bill does not attempt to take away from West Virginia any of its duties or powers so far as the colored folks are concerned. It is simply coordinating what the States have done and propose to do. It does not interfere with State rights, and I am a very hearty State rights man yet there are problems that must be solved by both National and State legislation.

Mr. MICHENER. Some folks don't know what the modern definition is of State rights.

Mr. MITCHELL. Those are all of the witnesses, but I have here a telegram which comes from a member of the organization Hon. Perry W. Howard referred to, asking the permission of the committee that the gentleman who signs the telegram be permitted to file a brief in opposition to the bill. The telegram is from Charles H. Houston.

Mr. MICHENER. Who does he represent?

Mr. MITCHELL. He does not say in the telegram who he represents, but he is attorney for the Organization for the Advancement of Colored People. I suggest that the chairman fix the time for the filing of the brief that Mr. Houston be permitted to file, as requested in his telegram, which reads as follows:

BALTIMORE, MD., June 17, 1935.

Congressman ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
United States Capitol, Washington, D. C.

Your letter Saturday June 15 announcing hearing on your bill for Tuesday June 18 received by me this morning June 17. Our understanding was that I would be notified as soon as date set so I could arrange my engagements accordingly. Due to late notice am compelled to be here in Baltimore for case specially set to begin June 18. Will appreciate your advising Judiciary Committee reason for my absence and obtaining for me leave to file brief in opposition.

Thanks.

CHARLES H. HOUSTON.

Mr. Chairman and committee, since I introduced H. R. 5733, February 14, I have addressed large audiences of colored and white people in 12 States and have had communications from thousands of people covering 30 States, including 15 Governors. The comment has been general, 99 percent of which has been most favorable to the enactment of this legislation. I include in the record here what I regard as the most outstanding communications from newspapers and acknowledged leaders in the field of race relations on this bill. I also have a number of letters and telegrams from outstanding college business people, both white and colored, which I should like to file as a part of the record in this hearing.

Mr. GREGORY. Without objection they may be filed.

(Letters and telegrams as follows:)

NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE CO.,
Durham, N. C., February 11, 1935.

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of February 7 and attached rough copy of bill which you have under consideration have been read with a great deal of interest.

From present indications, the rather uncertain conditions through which our Nation is passing will continue for quite sometime. It is also evident that the Negroes of the United States and particularly those who live in the Southern States will face many perplexing problems as a result of our disturbed economic set-up.

I have carefully observed section 4 of the proposed bill which deals with the purpose and duties of the Negro Industrial Commission which this bill would create. Quite naturally some members of our racial group will be opposed to the creation of a Commission which would deal only with Negro problems on the theory that the activity of such a commission would be in support of segregation in Government supervision. It is my opinion, however, that if the Government is justified in the creation and maintenance of a special commission for the purpose of studying the problems and looking after the welfare of the American Indians, it is also necessary that a somewhat similar commission be created and maintained for the purpose outlined in said section 4 of your bill.

It cannot be denied that to some extent the poor white people especially in the Southern States of the United States are suffering immensely during this period of depression. These people, however, receive the maximum benefits which local and governmental agencies are able to provide. It is common knowledge, however, of even the casual observer that Negroes especially in the Southern States do not receive anything like equal consideration from the relief agencies. The unequal distribution of benefits and opportunities, to the detriment of Negroes, obtains not only during the depression periods but constantly in the southern region. Reports coming to my office from representatives of our company throughout the seven States and the District of Columbia, the territory in which a vast majority of the Negroes of the country live, indicate that a large

number of Negroes are gradually starving. Such a condition should not exist in this our land of plenty.

If the commission which you propose did nothing more than help the Negroes in destitute circumstances to get sufficient food to sustain life, a most humane service would be rendered.

It is my further opinion that favorable consideration of your bill by the Congress of the United States would bring to the Negroes not only material values, but the opportunity to serve in the promotion of the duties of such a commission, would likewise be beneficial.

This matter shall be held in strict confidence as requested in your letter and I make the above observations to you in like manner.

I take this opportunity to express to you my personal, appreciation for the interest which you are manifesting in our people, and to also congratulate you on the very fine impression you have made on your colleagues, and the public generally, in the beginning of your tenure of office as a representative of the First District of the State of Illinois.

Very sincerely yours,

C. C. SPAULDING, *President.*

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE FOR NEGROES,
Petersburg, Va., March 5, 1935.

Congressman ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
United States Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MITCHELL: This letter comes to express my hearty endorsement of your bill providing for a national industrial labor board for Negroes. It seems to me that this is one of the most advanced and needed pieces of legislation presented in a long time.

May I take this opportunity, also, to express my best wishes for a most successful term. We look forward with much hope to your period of service as a representative of the people.

Respectfully yours,

ORLEANIS REID, JR.,
Agricultural Economist.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE,
Chicago, March 22, 1935.

The Hon. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MITCHELL: I want to congratulate you on your statesmanlike proposal for the creation of a national commission to study Negro life in America. Such a study, if competently made, should result in great good for both the Negro race and our country. Incidentally, I should like to have a copy of this bill, too.

I had hoped to get over to Washington and pay you a visit during this session of Congress but it now appears that I shall not be able to do so.

With hearty personal greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

C. W. REESE, *Dean.*

ILLINOIS FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS,
April 29, 1935.

Representative ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: We have just read the outline of your proposed industrial bill in behalf of the Negro race.

May we extend our congratulations and all best wishes for the passing of your excellent bill, as we feel this is a long step forward and will greatly assist our beloved President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, in his efforts to uphold the morale of our Nation.

Very cordially yours,

Mrs. MARIAN H. BIEL.
Mrs. GRACE C. BELT.

THE NATIONAL IMPROVEMENT UNION,
New York, April 2, 1935.

HON. A. W. MITCHELL, M. C.
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The National Improvement Union at a meeting Thursday evening by a unanimous vote endorsed the bill sponsored by you. To create an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs.

Very truly yours,

JAS. A. ROSS, *President.*

COLORED DEMOCRATIC VICTORY ORGANIZATION
OF LOUISVILLE AND JEFFERSON COUNTY,
Louisville, Ky., March 8, 1935.

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Herewith is enclosed a copy of a petition sent to Congressman O'Neal of the third district (Louisville, Ky.) asking his support on the House bill 5733 both in the spirit and the letter.

Wishing you every success in your great field of endeavor. I am yours in the spirit of true democracy.

E. E. PRUITT, *Executive Secretary.*

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., June 17, 1935

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: I have read your bill, 5733, providing for the creation of a commission on Negro industrial and economic affairs with a great deal of interest. As you know, the district I represent has a large Negro constituency and I am vitally interested in any legislation which will tend to help the people I represent. I regard this bill as being the most necessary measure to help in working out the problems that confront the American Nation and which vitally concern the welfare of the Negro throughout the country.

I endorse the bill without reservation and assure you that I stand ready to do everything in my power to help put the bill through the Congress, believing that it will mark a distinct advancement in the program of the American people to promote the interest of one of the most worthy minority groups in our great Nation. It is my earnest desire that favorable action will be had on this bill both by the Judiciary Committee and by the Congress during this session of the Seventy-fourth Congress. I shall be glad to consult with you further with a view of determining what definite things I can do to advance the legislation. I am,

Very sincerely yours,

RAYMOND S. McKEOUGH,
Second District, Illinois.

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
SIXTH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT,
Atlanta, Ga., February 26, 1935.

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
Congressman of the United States, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: First I wish to thank you for consenting to be our guest March 12. We are looking forward to a grand and glorious occasion.

I have carefully read your program to create a new industrial commission, and I think it is one of the most forward and far-seeing race measures that any of our statesmen in any work of life have ever suggested. I am praying that God will keep you strong and courageous, in order to do the work of a Christian statesman.

God bless you in your labor of love.

Yours very truly,

W. A. FOUNTAIN, SR.

JOURNAL AND GUIDE,
Norfolk, Va., February 9, 1935.

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL, M. C.,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. MITCHELL: Wish to acknowledge your favor of the 7th, accompanying tentative draft of your bill to create a Negro Industrial Commission.

I think there is a great need of some sort of fact-finding body along the lines indicated in the bill, and it seems to me that if such a commission is set up under Federal authority, it would have a great deal more prestige than otherwise would be true, and its findings carry considerable weight with industrialists.

Then, too, the cost of financing such a project is out of the reach of private interests, and that is another reason it should be a Governmental agency.

I hope you will push the measure and successfully put it through. When you have matters in such shape that you are ready to release something to the press, we shall be glad to receive it.

If I can personally be of any further assistance to you in working out the plan, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

P. B. YOUNG, *Editor Journal and Guide.*

NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL EMPLOYEES,
Washington, D. C., February 20, 1935.

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MITCHELL: We wish to thank you for the very cordial and inspiring interview which you accorded Mr. J. Finley Wilson and the representatives of the National Alliance of Postal Employees in your office yesterday.

Permit us, Mr. Mitchell, to assure you of our fealty and to most heartily endorse House bill 4457 and 5733 so ably constructed by yourself. Of course, the lynching bill is a wonderful instrument in which we are all vitally interested; however, we wish to especially commend the bill to create an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs. This is an innovation and will prove a Godsend to the group herein referred to.

We are quite sure that your representation in this powerful body can only be helpful and reflect able statesmanship.

Very truly yours,

NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL EMPLOYEES,
JERRY O. GILLIAM, *President.*
S. M. JACKSON, *Secretary.*

I have read the bill introduced by Representative Mitchell to create an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs. I regard this bill as being the most constructive bill that has ever been introduced in the Congress pertaining to the Negro. The objectives set out in the bill are all necessary and desirable and if this commission can help to solve some of the problems which confront the Negro race today, Congressman Mitchell will have made a most valuable contribution to the welfare not only of the Negro but of the country-at-large.

I think a great deal of the effectiveness of the commission depends upon the personnel. I am happy to know that it provides for a mixed commission of both white and colored people. It ought to include an outstanding white man who has both the intellectual and the sympathetic approach to the Negro problem; an outstanding white woman with similar views; 2 outstanding men of the Race, and 1 woman of our Race of ability, intellect, and courage. With such a personnel the Commission can render most unusual service, and I am sure that service will be worth while.

HARRY H. PACE,
Attorney at law, president of the Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Co.
FEBRUARY 19, 1935.

AGRICULTURAL, MECHANICAL & NORMAL COLLEGE,
Pine Bluff, Ark., January 20, 1935.

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
The House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MITCHELL: I understand that there may be an Industrial Commission composed of Negroes, in part or in whole, to study the industrial conditions among Negroes. The most important commission of that kind at present would be a commission to study agricultural conditions in the South. I believe there should be appointed a commission composed of white and Negro men to study the tenant situation in the South and agricultural needs of the Negro in general.

I know the many needs that will engage your attention as a member of this Congress which will keep you very busy, but I shall be glad if you could find time to express to me in a letter your opinion of this suggestion.

With all due regards, I am

Yours very truly,

J. B. WATSON, *President.*

BRUSEAUX NATIONAL DETECTIVE SERVICE,
Chicago, March 4, 1935.

Congressman ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have just had the pleasure of reading your bill H. R. 5733 to create an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs. I wish to state that I think it is a wonderful bill and take this opportunity to congratulate you.

I have talked with several friends who are members of our organization and they join me in expressing gratitude to you for your foresight in safeguarding the interest of our group.

Wishing you much success in the wonderful work you are doing down there, I am

Sincerely yours,

SHERIDAN A. BRUSEAUX.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY,
Washington, D. C., February 23, 1935.

The Honorable ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MITCHELL: I am very sorry that I was out of town when your kind letter of February 7, with enclosure, came to my office. When I returned it was already too late, according to your schedule, to send in my comments. Mrs. Robinson tells me that you have already presented the bill in the Congress. I am favorably impressed with the constructive purposes of the bill and hope that it may gain encouraging support in its very earliest stages.

If I may be of service to you in connection with any further measures, I shall be glad.

With great appreciation and with cordial regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

MORDECAI W. JOHNSON.

THE CANTEN SERVICE,
VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION FACILITY,
Tuskegee, Ala., February 11, 1935.

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. MITCHELL: Thanks for your very kind letter of the 7th, together with a copy of your bill to create a Negro industrial commission.

After carefully studying this draft, I am thoroughly convinced that it is one of the most constructive pieces of legislation that it has been my pleasure to know of. Even should it fall short of passage, I feel that you are to be congratulated for its conception. To further show the need of such a commission I am enclosing herewith some data with reference to a labor condition on which I am at this moment working. I shall keep my eye open for any other concrete examples which I think you might use in support of such a bill.

With a continued good wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

R. H. HARRIS.

ELKS DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,
Washington, D. C., March 4, 1935.

ARTHUR W. MITCHELL, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have before me a copy of House bill 5733, which has for a title "A bill to create an industrial commission on Negro affairs."

I have read this bill with considerable care and I am writing you to thank you for being thoughtful of the real interests of the American Negro. It is my opinion that the objective set out in said bill are the fundamentals upon which a program leading to the economic and industrial successes of the Negro must be based.

I am taking the liberty of sending to you a newspaper which contains an address which I had privilege to give on Founders' Day at Morgan College in 1934. Should you have time to read it I will appreciate it, and if you think well of it I would like to have it filed with your committee when it comes to the consideration of your bill.

Assuring you that I desire to be of aid to you if there is any way that I may be in bringing about the confirmation of the objective of your bill and assuring you that you have my highest esteem, I am

Yours sincerely,

W. C. HUESTON,
Commissioner of Education.

KANSAS CITY, MO., February 22, 1935.

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I see by the press that you have introduced a bill the purpose of which is to create a commission. I think that is mighty fine as we are certainly in need of one.

There are many ills from which we are suffering and if the right kind of investigation is made by men of our group who have the race at heart some of the conditions can and will be ameliorated.

My sincere hope is that we will be represented by men from different sections of our country, regardless of party affiliation. Anything that I can do to assist in putting over this plan please command me.

I can say without fear of successful disputation that it is the wisest piece of legislation that has been proposed by any member of our group.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,

C. H. CALLOWAY.

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE,
Institute, W. Va., February 25, 1935.

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
Congressman from Illinois, House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing to congratulate you upon introducing a bill to create a Negro Industrial Commission. The objectives of the bill as reported by the press are pertinent and important. You have rendered a constructive public service in introducing this bill and I trust that it will be passed by the Congress in a way to achieve the noble purpose originally thought out for it.

I trust that your work is moving along right lines. If I can be of any service to you at any time you have only to call upon me.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. DAVIS, President.

LANE COLLEGE,
Jackson, Tenn., February 13, 1935.

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have read with care and much interest the bill, the caption of which is "To create a Negro Industrial Commission" and I thank you for the same. I have given some thought to the provision of it. I think

the bill is well conceived, and thoroughly practical. I am sure if enacted into a law, it will mean much to the minority racial group throughout the country. The purpose of the proposed commission is full and clearly set forth in section 4. I would like to see the item "to promote the general welfare of the Negro in industrial pursuits" as given in the bill, be made a little more elaborate and specific, by adding "to study industrial conditions of Negroes on the farms, in shops, and factories, in mines when called upon, and make a report to such agencies as may be interested in the same, to confer with labor boards and labor organizations so as to find a solution to the problem of Negroes becoming members of these organizations; to gather statistics showing how funds for public education are raised and how disbursed, whenever the necessity of such services arises."

I do not know that these statements are necessary. I am sure they are included by implications to say the least. I am sure you are on the right track and we are praying for you to have large success in all of your efforts to help a struggling and suffering people.

Cordially yours,

J. F. LANE, *President.*

CINCINNATI, February 26, 1935.

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MITCHELL: I have read the press reports of the bill which you have recently introduced in Congress, to create a Negro Industrial Commission. This bill should have the united support of all thinking Negroes in this country. I trust it will be passed.

You are to be commended for this constructive piece of legislation.

Yours very truly,

M. C. CLARKE.

WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY,
Wilberforce, Ohio, June 14, 1935.

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
United States Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MITCHELL: It will be impossible for me to attend the hearing on the 18th which I regret so much indeed. I will appreciate it if I may be informed concerning the same.

I have read your bill and I am in thorough accord with the same. I think there is no greater need in our entire industrial and economic system than the appointment of such a commission as you suggest, and I am sure that a proper selection of men can make this of epochal benefit to the race. There is no time when this is more necessary than it is today.

I have been a student of economics among the Negroes for many years. My first college study for the degree of bachelor of divinity was of the industrial condition of the Negroes in the city of Chicago back in 1901, when I was a classmate of Donald Richberg of N. R. A. fame. I have made studies for the University of Pennsylvania, the State Department of Labor and Industry of Pennsylvania, the Industrial Commission of Pennsylvania, the Carnegie Institute of Washington, and numerous other agencies. I merely mention this to let you know that I am not entirely ignorant of the industrial situation among Negroes. I believe that when Monroe Work's bibliography of the Negro was published carrying more than 7,000 authors, with the exception of Booker T. Washington and one or two others, I had published more studies of the Negro in industry than any other single colored man.

Out of this experience then, I wish to state that I regard the commission intended to be created by your bill, as the most forward step made in many decades in the treatment of one of America's most difficult problems. I trust that it will pass both House and Senate, and be approved by the President. It is a very small investment from a monetary point of view, for a very big job. That is my only criticism, and yet I can see that in view of public opinion it would have to start modestly.

Wishing you every success, I am

Very sincerely yours,

R. R. WRIGHT, JR., *President.*

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE FOR NEGROES,

Durham, March 1, 1935.

Congressman A. W. MITCHELL,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I note from this week's papers that you have presented a bill to Congress which authorizes the setting up of a commission for five persons, whose duty it will be to study and advise regarding the economic, industrial, and social life of the Negroes.

Personally, I think this one of the most constructive measures that has been offered affecting our group in many years, and I hope sincerely that this measure will have a successful passage through both Houses. Such a commission should be of great service in aiding Negroes in retention of present employment, reemployment in past occupations which they have held for years, and the opening of new avenues of opportunity for Negro workers, and at the same time, promote understanding and cooperation between the races.

If there is anything we can do to interest our Congressmen and Senators from this State in your measure, we shall be glad to do so. I believe we can get a majority of our representatives to support such a measure; Negroes here in North Carolina for sometime have been voting in the Democratic primaries and elections.

We should be very glad to have you visit Durham and speak to the people in this community. If you have any open dates and will let me know concerning same, I shall be very glad to make arrangements for your appearance in Durham.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

JAMES T. TAYLOR.

JUVENILE COURT,

Louisville, Ky., March 1, 1935.

Hon. EMMETT O'NEAL, M. C.,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. O'NEAL: After wishing you and yours continued health and success, this comes in reply to yours of February 19, 1935, relative to H. R. 5733 and S. 24, both of which I have studied carefully and feel would mean much to the good citizens of the United States and especially the people of my race.

Knowing as I do your interest in, and fair mindedness with my people and the contributions you and the entire O'Neal family have always tried to make in behalf of the Negro people, I am asking that if possible you will give them your support.

Yours truly,

J. A. MORAN, Probation Officer.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY,

Washington, D. C., March 11, 1935.

Hon. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MITCHELL: I have read with great interest a copy of your recently introduced bill to create an "Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs." I trust this bill will receive the early and serious attention of the Congress, and that it will be enacted into law. It is one of the most constructive measures ever proposed for the sane and helpful assumption by the Government of the national duty toward the Negro. I congratulate you on the foresight and judgment which has led you to introduce it.

It seems to me there is no more constructive way of safeguarding the benefits of "new deal" opportunities to the Negro population than to have such a fact-finding board of experts, with power to recommend policies and special modes of application of Government help. Such a medium recognizes some of the special complications and disabilities of the Negro's position without, however, making him a ward or dependent, or creating the undesirable impression that as a class or group he is seeking preferential treatment. We all know from common-sense experience that special effort must be exerted through some channel to see that the Negro participates more fairly and fully in common public benefits and consideration. Your bill creates an agency that will make this possible on the plane of scientific facts and expert advice rather than political patronage or partisan propaganda.

Please let me know if there is anything I can do toward helping the matter forward.

With high respect and regard,
Sincerely yours,

ALAIN LOCKE.

CHICAGO, ILL., February 26, 1935.

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
*Congressman First District of Illinois,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I read in the daily press with great pleasure that you have introduced in Congress a bill authorizing the appointment of a colored industrial commission. Without knowing its context, I favor the bill for the reason that such a commission would give opportunity to colored workingmen, both common laborers and industrialists to bare their grievances, of which there are many.

The report of such a colored industrial commission would no doubt, present a fact-finding survey with reliable statistical information which would be a substantial basis for judgment upon many proposed steps in the program of President Roosevelt for social progress. Probably you will be condemned by partisans, who to obtain political advantage, will distort and misrepresent the text of your bill and question your good faith in presenting it. There are millions of our race however, who want to know the truth. They will approve of the appointment of the commission.

As a Republican of many years standing, I congratulate you in introducing this bill because it is a constructive measure of great potential strength in securing for colored people fair play under the President's program. Please send me a copy of the bill and any other congressional record of similar import.

Very truly yours,

F. L. BARNETT.

BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE,
Daytona Beach, Fla., February 9, 1935.

Congressman ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN MITCHELL: First of all, I do want to express my deep gratitude for you and the service you are rendering the Nation and for the spirited interest that you are manifesting in a group that is so happy to know that there is an advocate at the bar of justice in the Halls of Congress for us. My sincere prayers are that great strength, courage, deep understanding, wisdom, and tact might be granted you as you face the daily, important problems that must arise during such times as these.

May I thank you for the confidence and honor you have given me in looking over and thinking through this vitally important bill that has been conceived in your soul for the betterment and a larger representation of our people. I have gone through it carefully and I do want to commend you and give, according to my limited wisdom, my genuine approval to the spirit and statement of this bill. I hope it can be gotten through.

It is my fervent wish that sometimes, Mr. Mitchell, during this developing stage that some strong Negro woman might have representation somewhere in the Cabinet. I am just thinking what a fine representative Miss Nannie H. Burroughs would make for us all.

I hope it may be our privilege to see you here in our State some day. We want you to come down. We are dedicating two buildings March 9-10. It will be delightful for us to receive special greeting from you. One is a science hall and the other is a very fine, modern refectory. I shall be happy to have you know more about Bethune-Cookman and our work among the people of this section of the country as the years go by.

Sincerely yours,

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE.

ATLANTIC CHRISTIAN COLLEGE,
Wilson, N. C., February 18, 1935.

DEAR MR. MITCHELL: The reactions of your visit here have been the best. My students were all captivated. The Negro citizens have been equally as well pleased.

I have written Mr. Morton, also to the editor of Journal and Guide. I have also written the State interracial commission for Virginia and North Carolina to use you as one of their speakers. Your visit was great.

Sincerely,

C. H. HAMLIN.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, June 18, 1935.

Hon. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Supplementing the letter of endorsement of your Negro industrial commission bill by the Ohio State Democratic League of which I am president, I have the honor to forward you the endorsement in toto of the Franklin County Colored Democratic Council composed of 24 Democratic clubs in Franklin County, the State of Ohio, sincerest good wishes for its passage.

PERCY D. JONES.

CHICAGO, ILL., June 18, 1935.

Congressman ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Regret my inability to appear in person. Actual engagement in an emergency matter. I endorse the Negro industrial commission bill as a much-needed piece of legislation. You are authorized to place my endorsement on record.

RICHARD E. WESTBROOK,
Attorney at Law.

STATE OF OHIO,
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
Columbus, March 25, 1935.

Hon. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This will acknowledge your kind letter of March 15. I have followed a rule not to express any opinions on any Federal matter while I am Governor, inasmuch as all my time and attention are needed for this arduous task. I have, however, found the subject about which you write most interesting.

With cordial good wishes, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

M. L. DAVEY, Governor.

STATE OF MINNESOTA,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
St. Paul, March 25, 1935.

Hon. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MITCHELL: This will acknowledge your letter of March 15 and enclosure. Your proposed legislation dealing with the economic and social betterment of the Negro race appears to be a real contribution on the subject. I am placing this in my personal file for further study and investigation.

Sincerely yours,

FLOYD B. OLSON, Governor.

STATE OF MICHIGAN,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Lansing, March 21, 1935.

Hon. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The Governor has referred to me for reply your letter of the 16th, enclosing copy of your bill in the House of Representatives to create an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs.

The Governor believes that any legislation providing for the appointment of such a commission for the purposes set forth in section 5 of your bill, is desirable.
Very truly yours,

GEO. L. CLARK.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Annapolis, Md., March 16, 1935.

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: I have carefully read your proposed bill creating an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs, and, in my opinion, it should pass the Congress without opposition.

I can think of nothing which will more speedily and effectively aid in the solution of this problem. I do hope that it will receive the favorable consideration its purposes merit.

Very truly yours,

H. W. NICE, Governor.

[From The Montgomery Advertiser]

THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC NEGRO CONGRESSMAN

Arthur W. Mitchell, who in his childhood sat at the feet of Booker T. Washington, and served that remarkable race leader as office boy at Tuskegee, has at last been elected a Member of the Congress of the United States. He is the first Negro Democrat, we believe, to go to Congress.

The election of Mitchell is of greater significance to his race and country than the election of Oscar DePriest, whom Mitchell has just defeated in a Chicago district.

Mitchell is a bigger, broader, and more significant personality than DePriest. He is a man of deeper scope and deeper feeling. He has a far richer background, for he is not alone a graduate of Tuskegee and a disciple of Booker Washington, but a graduate of Harvard and Columbia. Better than that, he was able to say after his remarkable victory:

"I've tried to run my campaign on an educational basis and have tried to teach the people of this district that it is not a bad thing to be a Democrat. * * * I would work harder for my people than any other Congressman, but I would not keep thinking about the fact that I was colored. It makes no difference when you have ability."

Here Mitchell takes high ground. He says, in effect: "I am not a Negro agitator, but a Member of the Congress of the United States. I am not the exclusive property of one class and race, but the agent of all the people."

Mitchell's election does more to dignify the Negro race than any previous political victory by an American Negro. It is the feeling of the Advertiser, a newspaper of the deep South, and Democratic all the way through, that it is more fortunate for the Negro race that a Negro Democrat should win a congressional seat than that a Negro Republican should win.

Plainly an American Negro who can bring himself to offer for public office on the Democratic ticket is a bolder, more independent spirit than one who does the obviously "correct" and safe thing of running as a Lincoln Republican.

The latter lives in the past; the Negro Democrat looks to the rising sun of the future and is not unaware of the living present.

It takes moral courage, in the light of the history of this Republic, for an American Negro to be a Democrat. Moral courage is the first requisite of a useful public official.

If Mitchell will be faithful to his original impulse to be an American Congressman instead of a Negro agitator in Congress, he will reflect credit upon himself and his race.

His opportunity today is equal to that of his master, Booker T. Washington, the wisest spirit ever borne of African blood.

But if he is interested primarily in fighting out the question of whether a Negro shall eat his lunch in the Congressional restaurant, and not in the fundamental issues which torment the human mind, he will serve his brief day and pass out forgotten, as Oscar De Priest, the cheap man with the cab-driver psychology, has passed out before the blade of a better swordsman.

What the American Negro needs is a sense of dignity. Mitchell, apparently, holds the same theory.

NOTED ALABAMA NEGROES

The people of Alabama generally should view with pride the achievements that have been made recently by two Negroes in the realms of music and politics. Both William Dawson, the Anniston musician, and Arthur W. Mitchell, who is to be the Congressman from the First Chicago District, the richest in the United States, got their inspiration to high achievement from Tuskegee Institute, which also has given to the world of science that great genius, Dr. George Washington Carver.

William Dawson is director of music at Tuskegee. A few years ago he was shining shoes here in this city, but on Wednesday evening of last week he had the pleasure of hearing the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Leopold Stokowski, one of the world's greatest, give the premiere performance of his fine musical composition, Negro Folk Symphony No. 1, which has been widely acclaimed by critics, who say that Dawson has genuine creative talent.

Dawson's triumph seems to verify a statement that repeatedly has been made by the Anniston Star—that the first genuinely great American music would be written by a Negro. We do not know whether the composition in question will qualify in this respect or not, but we still are of that opinion; for it has been observed that no people ever produces a great music until they have suffered; and the mental, spiritual, and physical hardships that the American Negro has undergone eventually will be expressed in terms of music, whether Dawson has done so or not. As great an artist as Lawrence Tibbitt stated recently that the best singing he has ever heard was that of a Negro chorus in Birmingham. The race is peculiarly gifted in the art of song, and if they once are educated we may expect from them a large contribution to American culture.

The reason that we rejoice in the election of Mitchell to Congress is because he defeated the despicable Oscar De Priest and seems destined to keep his feet on the ground, recognizing that he can help his race only in proportion as he works with and not against the dominant race on this continent. Mitchell says that as long as his predecessor was in Congress he worked almost exclusively in the interest of his own people, although there are both whites and blacks in his district. The Democrat promises that this sort of discrimination shall be ended and that he will serve his constituency regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

There will, of course, be short-sighted white persons all over the country who will resent the election of a Negro to Congress. But the Anniston Star does not share this view. We believe it would be well if we could have one or two Negroes of the Mitchell type in every State legislature to speak for their race. Indeed, there is probably not another civilized country in the world where a minority race as considerable as is the Negro race in America is given so little opportunity for self-expression. They have rights that should be recognized, and the white race is hurting itself as long as those rights are denied in the various channels of social control.

It was Edgar Gardner Murphy, the great Alabama preacher and social worker, who made the statement several years ago that no graduate of Tuskegee had ever been accused of a crime against a white woman, and we believe the statement holds good to this day. Certainly Booker Washington, one of the greatest Americans of all time, did a big work there; and his tradition has been carried forward by Dr. Robert R. Moton, who is honored by such men as Dawson and Mitchell, and whose proposed retirement as president of Tuskegee is to be deplored.

[From the St. Louis Argus]

NEGRO INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

We are pleased to note that Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell has introduced a bill in the House of Representatives, the purpose of which is to create a Negro industrial commission.

The function of this commission, as we understand it, among other things, is to make an intelligent study of the things and the factors that are at work in this country which affect the Negro in his proper pursuit of his citizenship rights—and God knows they are many. There is no doubt that there are many, many factors which play an important part in this matter. The advantage which the commission will have in its investigation is it will be clothed with authority from the United States Government; and as such, it will not be limited in its investiga-

tion to just high places, but it will be in a position to make a thorough study of the whole case.

To be sure, the commission will not have, neither will it assume to have, dictatorial policies, but it will be in a position to gather facts bearing upon the case and to make recommendations to the proper authority, which will carry a great deal of weight.

Of course, there are those who, for obvious reasons, will oppose such a bill. They will put out such flimsy excuses as those recently printed by the Chicago Defender, which, in substance, said that we are citizens of the United States and as such, need no special consideration. Such a statement merely sounds all right. We would agree with it were it not for the outstanding facts, which show that if the Negro is a citizen, the rights of citizenship are denied him just the same. What Mr. Mitchell's commission would do would be to work out plans which, in turn, would hasten the day in which the Negro would enjoy all of these rights; that is, it will make a study, a scientific study, of the factors which will include politics, work in industries, organized labor, disfranchisement, and the denial of civil rights, such as Jim-Crowism, refusal of accommodation, etc. All of these will be gone into thoroughly by competent investigators, both white and black, and recommendations will be made to the proper authorities. To be sure, there is perhaps no German commission, no Italian commission, no Jewish commission, etc., commissioned by the Government to look after the interests of these several groups; but it is nevertheless true that these groups have their own organizations which are alert, night and day, Sunday and Monday, protecting and looking after their own interests, the cost of which runs into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. Then, too, these groups do not suffer from the things from which we suffer. They are a part and parcel of the United States Government and are recognized as such. They are not made the target for the insults of Jim-Crowism. They are not the principals who are murdered at the end of the lynchers' rope and who suffer the agony of the mob's torch, etc.

Oh, yes; we, too, would rather have the situation so that we, as a group, would need no special consideration, just everybody a citizen, with no discrimination because of race or color—just citizens. We would rather there should be no Negro schools and churches. But we also know that these conditions are here; and what are we going to do about them? We see no need of sitting around whining about these conditions and at the same time offering no remedy for them. The enforcement of the rights of citizenship rests, finally, with the Government. A commission of the kind which the Mitchell resolution calls for will, if enacted into a law, become a part of the Government. Thus, in our fight for these rights, we will have the strong support of the arm of the law.

Therefore, we strongly support the Commission bill because we believe, by every rule of the game, that it will be a long step in the right direction for achieving the rights of citizenship for the Negroes in the United States.

[From St. Louis Argus, May 17, 1933]

MITCHELL'S COMMISSION BILL

We hope that Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell will push his commission bill in the present Congress because we think that such a bill, approved by the President of the United States, will do much to advance the cause of the colored people in this country. The importance of such a measure was very vividly brought out during the address of Norman Thomas before the Youth Forum here last Sunday afternoon when he told of the importance of investigators with power and authority from the Government so that the conditions of the people, especially the poor people, can get a hearing at Washington.

Mr. Thomas' statement was merely a small part of what could be done if someone in authority was commissioned to make investigations. Therefore, we see in Congressman Mitchell's bill the hope of millions of black folk of the South and of the North, if you please, whose cases never get a hearing before the bar of public opinion. Just why our so-called leaders cannot see the real situation we cannot understand. For an instance, in a recent editorial criticizing Mr. Mitchell's bill, the Chicago Defender, among other things has this to say: "We thought that the present program of the Government was to study and from the results of that study evolve and apply a remedy that would solve the problems of all American citizens, regardless of race, creed or color." Wake up, Defender, Rip Van Winkle. Are you still asleep to the facts in the case? There was a

time when some of us thought that the Government would evolve and apply a remedy applying to all citizens alike, regardless of race or color, but we who think know better now and there is no use in kidding ourselves to think that, under the present plan and system of operation, anything is going to be done which will help the colored man in his present plight. We have been trying remedies for the last 40 years, and where have we gotten? If the critics of Mr. Mitchell are satisfied to depend upon the present machinery and order of things to lead this race of ours somewhere, then we, like Congressman Mitchell, beg to differ with these gentlemen.

Just think of it and then think a little more. Then let us see what it would mean for men or women of our race and suitable men and women of the white race to form a committee with the power of the Government, similar to the Wickersham Commission, to get data, to get information with the authority to get at the root of this evil and to bring it in proper form to the Government so that something could be done about it.

Everybody knows, or at least everybody should know, that at the root of the Negro's condition in this country lies an economic condition. Of course, there are many other factors which take root in that situation which are just as menacing to our well-being. A commission of the sort Mr. Mitchell proposes will be in a better position to remedy these conditions than anything that has been proposed in the Congress of the United States for years. Such a commission would have the power to investigate sharecroppers, the parole system, the cruelties, the unhealthy and insanitary conditions in which the Negroes have to live in many sections of the country, all of which can help this race of ours in a thousand different ways.

It is to be understood that the wolf can always make an excuse as to why he should devour the lamb, so we think it is with the critics of Mr. Mitchell. They will make any excuse to criticize him, and their motives, probably, are just about the same as those of the wolf. They say that Mr. Mitchell introduced the antilynching bill in bad faith. They say that his commission bill is meaningless. They say that his speech in the interest of the social security bill was playing to the grandstand, etc. To be sure, if Mr. Mitchell had not introduced these bills and had not been faithfully endeavoring to do something for his race, these critics would have been the first to holler that he has done nothing. His predecessor, Oscar De Priest, introduced an antilynching bill. They aren't hollering about that. In fact, there have been about thirty-one antilynching bills introduced in the present session of Congress. We don't hear them hollering about those bills. The truth of the matter is these would-be leaders just want some excuse to criticize; and try to keep a man down who is trying to rise and who is trying to do something for his people without their formulae. It would be all right, probably, but their formulae, during these past 40 years, have amounted to little and they don't want anybody who will do something to bring about a change that will get the Negro somewhere.

We are pleased with the fact that Mr. Mitchell has been able to make friends with his colleagues. Only a fool would have done less. We are pleased to know that he has his own way of doing business. He, no doubt, is much wiser than his critics. Should he be able to get his bill through creating a commission and the same is approved by the Government—blessed is his name.

[From America, May 11, 1935]

A NEW DEAL FOR THE NEGRO

A bill has been introduced in Congress to create a permanent commission for the study of problems connected with the needs of the Negro. Its author is Arthur W. Mitchell, a Negro and a member of the Democratic party, representing a Congressional district in Chicago. The proposed commission will consist of five members, appointed by the President, and at least three of them must be Negroes. The bill has been referred to a subcommittee for public hearings, and as it is said to have the support of the Democratic members, its chances for enactment are favorable.

The general purpose of the commission is to consider all matters pertaining to the Negro which may be referred to it by any department of the Government. Specifically, it will study labor problems affecting the Negro, and make recommendation which may solve them. This may seem a narrow program, hardly meriting the attention of a Federal agency, but only to those who do not realize how narrowly restricted the field of Negro labor has become. If the commission undertakes this part of its work seriously, it will be busily occupied.

Regrettably, organized labor has never been able, or if able, not willing, to cooperate with workers whose skins are black. The color line has been drawn by labor groups quite as strictly as by social groups, and because of this lack of cooperation, Negro labor organizations are few and weak. Meanwhile the Communists and other professional trouble makers have been boring in. That up to the present they have not been notably successful in stirring this oppressed portion of our people into open revolt, is a striking tribute to the religious and moral fiber of the Negro race. But they have achieved some measure of success, particularly in northern cities. Unless the white race awakens to its duty to the Negro, they may go much farther. Justice demands that the rights of the Negro as a man and a citizen be given full recognition, and charity requires us to make special efforts in behalf of a race long oppressed by us.

Mr. Mitchell hopes that one important result of the studies to be made by this commission will be the formulation of a labor policy which will foster a better understanding between the two races. We share that hope, and while we hardly expect to find its realization through a Federal report, no serious and intelligent effort to promote mutual confidence among the various classes of our people can be wholly lost. Too long have we looked with indifference upon the efforts of the Negro to raise himself above the plane in which the race existed at the end of the War between the States. Too few of us realize the marvelous progress made by the Negro in this brief period of 70 years. Malice and bigotry must not be suffered to check it. We see a distinct field of usefulness for the commission proposed by Mr. Mitchell.

[From the Chicago Defender, June 8, 1935]

WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY

THE MITCHELL BILL

Editor, The Chicago Defender: Having read the editorial in your paper on the Mitchell industrial bill, I am persuaded to present my exceptions to the views therein expressed, not from a partisan standpoint, but on the merits of the bill itself as it relates to the benefit or detriment of our people. Handicapped on all sides by prejudice, not permitted to become members of the greater part of the unions and of those we are permitted to, we are shunted to the rear until the last is employed and imposed upon in many ways when employed.

Yet when we are placed on some job by some liberal-minded and independent citizen, we are classed as scabs and these holier-than-thou unions go on a strike. Why should this be when we pay our portion of the many taxes levied upon the people to take care of the projects? Taxation without representation, then, why not have a Government appoint a committee to find out why these things are so, and from a position of authority, bring them to the attention of those who are in a position to assist in remedying them and make such recommendations as are proper for a better state of affairs?

Therefore, I contend that with a committee as proposed by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, we have the most progressive gesture along this line that has been made by anyone and should be encouraged by all who are deeply interested in the Negro's welfare.

All other efforts seem to have failed, then why not give the Mitchell bill a trial?—William A. Wallace, 3638 Indiana Avenue, Chicago, Ill. (Editor's note: Above are excerpts from a letter to the editor from Mr. Wallace.)

[From Chicago Daily Tribune, March 7, 1935]

RIOT DISCLOSES "MOORISH" CULT'S GROWTH IN UNITED STATES—FOUNDED BY NEW JERSEY EXPRESSMAN IN 1924

The "Allah Temple of Islam," which seems to have supplied the inspiration for the rioting of colored cultists in the woman's court on Tuesday, is one of many "Moorish Mohammedan" groups in a dozen large American cities, all having sprung from a common source, investigation showed yesterday.

The original American "prophet", who called himself Noble Drew Ali, was a colored expressman in New Jersey. Preaching that Negroes are really Moors and should, therefore, follow the Mohammedan god, Allah, he founded a cult in 1924 which has since spread over the country.

The headquarters of the Chicago branch are at 3743 South State Street. There in a large building of yellow brick, which displays several posters with

the Turkish star and crescent and such mottoes as "Freedom, equality, justice Islam", the several hundred members meet on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sundays.

"BLOOD SISTERS AND BROTHERS"

The most important of the vows which the members must take, investigation showed, is the "flesh and blood ritual." This explains much of the emotional tension which was blamed for the tragic riot in the woman's court.

By submitting to this ritual and taking the oaths, the members believe they become blood brothers and sisters. When a blood sister seems headed for trouble, as in the case Tuesday of Mrs. Rosetta Hassan, who had been summoned to court—the cultists believe they should give assistance. It was this belief that sent some 50 of them trooping into the courtroom and led, eventually, to the riot.

Another part of the cult's creed is the inversion of the Golden Rule, to which the members subscribe: "Do unto others as they do unto you."

The head man of the temple in Chicago signs his name "Elijah Mohammed", but calls himself "Farad Muchmul" or, on more formal occasions, "Prophet W. D. Fard." He is said to be a convincing and fluent speaker "with an apparent knowledge of the Arabic language."

Relative to the wide-spread activity of the cult members, a bill has been introduced in Congress by Arthur W. Mitchell, colored representative from Chicago. Its purpose is "to create an industrial commission on Negro affairs." Striking at such organizations as the Temple of Islam, which gets its recruits from the most illiterate portion of the colored population, mostly young men on the relief rolls, the duties of the commission would be "to study the labor problem in which the Negro is fundamentally interested, to stimulate and encourage thrift and industry among the Negroes, and to discourage subversive doctrine and propaganda."

[From Journal and Guide, Mar. 2, 1933]

MITCHELL'S "WATCH DOG BILL" WINS WIDE APPROVAL—CONGRESSMAN SEEKS CREATION OF COMMISSION

FIVE MEMBERS WOULD RECEIVE SALARIES OF \$5,000 A YEAR

WASHINGTON, D. C. (ANP).—If the measure introduced by Congressman A. W. Mitchell calling for the creation of an industrial commission on Negro affairs becomes a law, our group would have at Washington for the first time since emancipation a body clothed with official authority to investigate and give judgment upon every important matter affecting the status of colored citizens.

Mr. Mitchell introduced the bill in the House of Representatives a fortnight ago. The Commission would consist of five members and has already been popularly dubbed the "watch-dog bill."

To five widely scattered leaders representing various occupational interests went rough drafts of the measure before its introduction, and from them came favorable comment:

LEADERS EXPRESS APPROVAL

The men asked by Mr. Mitchell to express their reaction to his project were Dr. R. R. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute; Dr. R. R. Wright, president of Wilberforce University; Ligon A. Wilson, principal of Snow Hill (Ala.) Normal and Industrial Institute; C. C. Spaulding, president of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.; and P. B. Young, Sr., editor of the Journal and Guide, Norfolk.

The Commission members would receive salaries of \$5,000 a year under the bill as introduced. Their appointment is to be nonpolitical in character. Each would serve for 6 years, except in the case of the first five members, who are to be appointed for terms ranging from 2 years to 6 years.

It is understood that one thought in Mr. Mitchell's mind in drafting his measure was a coordination and supplementing of the work now done by such individual advisers on Negro affairs as Eugene Knicker Jones, of the Department of Commerce; Robert Weaver, of the Department of the Interior; Lt. L. A. Oxley, of the Department of Labor; and H. A. Hunt, of the Farm Credit Administration.

COMMENTS ON BILL

Dr. Moton told Mr. Mitchell: "this bill is constructive in every respect, and if passed, will mean much for the country and the Negro. You can count on me to stand back of it 100 percent."

"If you succeed, you will do the greatest constructive thing done for the Negro by Congress outside the field of education since the fifteenth amendment", wrote Dr. Wright.

Mr. Wilson believed that "the bill would seem to have the possibilities of becoming very effective in the economic, as well as the social and political affairs of the Negroes of this country."

Mr. Spaulding thought that it was just as wise and proper to have a Commission on Negro Affairs as a Commission on Indian Affairs.

Mr. Young feels that such a commission is necessary as "a fact-finding body" and that its findings would "carry considerable weight with industrialists."

DUTIES OF COMMISSION

Section 4 of the bill, describing the duties of the commission, states:

"* * * shall be to study the economic conditions of the Negro; to study the labor problems in which the Negro is fundamentally interested; to stimulate and encourage thrift and industry among the Negroes of this country; to promote the general welfare of the Negro in industrial pursuits, and to encourage his general uplift; to work out plans looking toward the solution of the different problems confronting the Negro race of the United States;

"to consider all questions pertaining to the Negro that may be referred to said Commission by any department of the United States Government, and report a suggested solution of any and all problems that may be presented to the Commission by any officer of the United States, the Governor or Attorney General of any of the States, or labor department of any State in the United States;

"to recommend what may be necessary for the stability of labor in the different States; to discourage subversive doctrine and propaganda; to work toward the formulation of a policy for mutual understanding and confidence between the races; to report to Congress through the President of the United States all their acts and doings and to make such recommendations for the solution of any problem or problems affecting the Negro that they may deem advisable."

[From the Chicago Defender, Mar. 23, 1935]

N. A. A. C. P. ASKS APPOINTMENT OF RACE MEMBER OF PROPOSED FARM AID BOARD

NEW YORK, N. Y., March 22.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has urged upon Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace that "at least one member of the race of courage and experience with agriculture conditions in the South be appointed to the contemplated Labor Board designed to provide more effective protection for the southern share croppers under the cotton-control program which is designed to enforce the labor provisions of the A. A. A. crop-control contracts."

"No group of farmers is more exploited than Negro farmers", the letter signed by Walter White, N. A. A. C. P. secretary, continues. "Hundreds of thousands of Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers have been dispossessed from the land and forced to become homeless, shelterless, and foodless nomads. Only courageous and uncompromising action by the Federal Government can prevent the increasing of the number of these pitiful victims of the crop-reduction program. It is now imperative that at least one member of the board vested with sufficient authority be a Negro who is conversant with the plight of these Negro farmers."

MR. MITCHELL. I want to thank the committee for giving us this hearing and for being so patient with us.

MR. CELLER. Relative to these three bills, my own bill and the one introduced by Mr. Mitchell, I want opportunity later to extend my remarks in the record and put in the record editorials and articles appearing in Negro papers in opposition to this bill as follows: The

Pittsburgh Courier, the New York Age, and the Chicago Defender. I do not agree with the statements contained in the editorials and articles.

I should also like opportunity to put in the record communications I received in favor of these bills from officials of certain colleges and numerous other institutions, as shown by the communications, and also my own statement.

Mr. GREGORY. Without objection that will be permitted and the hearing will be closed.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY HON. EMANUEL CELLER

INTERRACIAL INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

I have introduced a bill, H. R. 7900, also providing for the establishment of an Interracial Industrial Commission. The commission shall consist of 5 members, not more than 2 of whom shall be members of the Caucasian race. Provision is made that the members of the commission shall be appointed by the President, and the commission shall be strictly nonpartisan.

The essential purpose of the bill is to make a comprehensive and careful survey of the problems arising out of the relationship of the colored and white races, and when a suitable basis for work has been established, to do everything possible in the way of suggesting and carrying out constructive remedies for the situation. As stated in the bill, "the duties of the Interracial Commission shall be to study the labor problems arising between the races; to stimulate and encourage tolerance in industry among the races in this country; to work out plans for the solution of the different problems confronting interracial adjustments in the United States; to consider all questions pertaining to race adjustment that may be referred to said commission by any department of the United States Government, and report the proper solution of any and all problems that may be presented to the commission by any officer of the United States, or labor department of any State of the United States; to investigate all labor questions that may be referred to said commission by the Governor or attorney general of any State, and to recommend what is necessary to regulate labor conditions for the best interest of the communities in which the labor questions may arise; to recommend what may be necessary for the stability of labor in the different States; to formulate a policy for mutual understanding and confidence between the races; to report to Congress through the President of the United States all their acts and doings and to make such recommendations for the solution of any problem or problems requiring race adjustment that said commission may deem necessary or advisable.

It is obvious to all that the Negro problem is no longer a southern problem. It is a problem that has become also the concern of the North, since a tremendous proportion of the Negro population has migrated from the South, thus creating a new situation throughout all sections of the United States. The reason for the Negro migration is the same as the reason for practically every other migration—to better economic conditions. In the South there are four main factors against the Negro: The law as administered by the southern white population, not the law as written on the statute books; lack of work and poor remuneration even when it is available; insufficient housing; and the fact that practically no provision is made for the education of the Negro child, and consequently, no opportunity for his advancement. These are the most important reasons for the spreading of Negroes and the resultant problems arising out of the new relationship with other elements in the population.

If the migration of the Negro continues, as seems likely, the entire attitude of the southerner toward the colored race will gradually undergo a decided change. For the past decade, the southern States have been in constant fear of Negro domination, and with the shifting of the body of the population to other regions, that fear will steadily decrease. With the removal of the Negro from the South there is left a change in the labor conditions there; but when he moves to the North, new and difficult social and economic problems arise there. It is to consider and study all phases of this situation, that I have introduced my bill to set up an interracial industrial commission.

The commission's investigation and findings would help white and Negro alike. Frankly, little is known of the great Negro migrations and the resulting ramifications and social and industrial derangements. Frequent white and black disturbances and clashes occur in New York City's Harlem or Black Belt. These outbursts of racial antagonisms in New York City and likewise in Chicago and St. Louis frequently involve bloodshed and murder. Ofttimes white folk dare not show themselves on certain streets of these colored sections. The Negro, because of strength of numbers, applies "lynch law", as it were, against the white man. Negroes will refuse to patronize "white" stores. The tables are thus turned.

Thus the white man can gain much from an impartial investigation by the commission proposed.

Cognate bills have been introduced for a decade. Action cannot longer be deferred.

MEMORANDUM RE H. R. 5733, SEVENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION
PROPOSING AN INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION ON NEGRO AFFAIRS

TO THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
House of Representatives:

I submit herewith memorandum in opposition to H. R. 5733, Seventy-fourth Congress, first session, for an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs, introduced by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell of Illinois, and on which a hearing was held by your committee June 19, 1935. The reasons for my opposition are as follows:

1. The name of the proposed commission is grossly misleading. It is styled the Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs, but a glance at its powers shows that the commission would draw in to itself all functions concerning Negroes in this country. H. R. 5733 provides that the commission shall have the power—

"* * * to promote the general welfare of the Negro in industrial pursuits, and to encourage his general uplift; to work out plans looking toward the solution of the different problems confronting the Negro race of the United States; to consider all questions pertaining to the Negro that may be referred to said commission by any department of the United States Government, and report a suggested solution of any and all problems, that may be presented to the commission by any officer of the United States, the governor or attorney general of any of the States; * * * to report to Congress through the President of the United States all their acts and doings and to make such recommendations for the solution of any problem or problems affecting the Negro that they may deem advisable." (Italics added.)

In other words, Negroes and Negro problems are to be set off and segregated into a special category just as if Negroes were wards of the Government. Negroes are not wards; they are citizens. As citizens they do not want any permanent Commission on Negro Affairs sitting as a self-appointed supreme court over their problems. Negroes want their problems considered and acted upon by the respective departments, bureaus and administrations of the Government wherever they rightly belong, just the same as the problems of any other group of citizens in the United States.

2. The proposed Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs has no real power. It can do nothing. It is merely an empty gesture of political patronage, for a few job holders to try to lull Negroes to sleep. Under H. R. 5733 the Commission is given no power to summon witnesses, or compel attendance before it, or compel the production of books and records. It can give no orders. All it can do is "report and recommend." Negroes do not need any Commission simply to "report and recommend." The Negro has suffered from too much recommendation and too little action for all these years.

3. Negroes do not want any Commission on Negro Affairs tacked on as a separate appendage behind the main body of the Government. What Negroes want is proper representation in the organized structure of the Government as it now exists. There is nothing that the proposed Commission could do which could not be done better and more directly by the several departments, bureaus, and administrations of the Government now existing. Instead of an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs, Negroes want more representation in the Department of Labor, with real investigation and supervision over conditions affecting

Negro industrial workers; more representation in the Department of Agriculture with true concern for the welfare of Negro share croppers, tenants, and farm laborers; more representation in the Department of Commerce for the purpose of developing Negro business and advancing Negroes in business; more representation in the Department of the Interior, and every other department, bureau, and administration. Many of the evils which are supposed to call for this proposed Commission would be eradicated by even a temporary show of activity on the part of the Department of Justice in running down and convicting the lynchers who terrorize and murder Negro peasants and workers to prevent their resistance to the inhuman exploitation they are subjected to in many places.

4. No Negro is so childish as to believe that this Commission would be able to do more than the organized departments, bureaus, and administrations are now doing. And if the Commission is not going to perform a real service, there is no reason for its existence, and no reason to squander the public money simply to give a few politicians a chance to trade jobs. If the Government suppresses its own official reports of official investigations when they are too frank and open with unpleasant truths, as it did with the Myers report about sharecropper conditions in Arkansas, it would not even permit the Commission to start on an investigation which would reveal anything significant about the exploitation of the Negro in industry or agriculture.

5. The truth is that the existence of the proposed Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs would be a grand excuse for all the departments, Federal and State, to get the Negro off their shoulders and to shift all perplexing and disturbing Negro problems over to the Commission. The departments would say they had referred the problems to the Commission; the Commission would say it had the matters under advisement. Negroes have had enough of this dodging of responsibility; they will not look with favor upon the creation of an additional buck-passing agency. They want responsibility to stay with the respective department, bureau, or administration where it properly belongs.

6. There is nothing new about this proposed Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs, H. R. 5733. In one form or another similar bills have regularly been introduced in Congress ever since the Forty-seventh Congress, first session, in 1881-82. The fact that no serious action has been taken on these bills shows that even their sponsors have recognized that the only real purpose they have is as a political gesture.

7. No public demand supports the bill. There is crying need for a congressional investigation into the conditions affecting Negroes in industry and agriculture; but this would mean a real investigation with power behind it, to accomplish anything. There is no public demand for this particular bill, H. R. 5733, proposing this so-called "Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs." The bill has been introduced, and a matter of public information, since February 14, 1935; but there has been no public clamor for its passage. Where are the supporting editorials? Where are the supporting press articles? Where are the petitions and resolutions of endorsement? What real study and brief have been presented, at any time or any place showing any substantial good the Commission could reasonably be expected to accomplish under its proposed organization and powers, and pointing out how these benefits are to come about?

8. Finally, this proposed commission is nothing more or less than political pap for politicians to dangle in front of the people. As such it may have dangerous and unexpected political repercussions, because it is impossible to treat the modern Negro as if he were an adolescent child and get away with it. Negroes are learning to think and they are beginning to remember. If Congress really wishes to do something for the Negro, let it insist upon the Negro receiving his full protection and recognition from the existing departments, bureaus, and administrations. If it does that, Negroes will not need any so-called "Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs." If it does not do that, then the so-called "Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs" can have no other purpose except to provide a few political jobs and to mislead the Negro people into a false notion that Congress is actually concerned with their welfare.

Respectfully submitted.

CHARLES H. HOUSTON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 21, 1935.

FINAL STATEMENT OF MR. MITCHELL

At the close of the hearings on this bill I asked permission of the committee to file a further statement in support of the bill. I had in mind replying to the brief which Mr. Charles Houston had been permitted to file. However since studying the brief of Mr. Houston I find that nothing of serious importance has been said in opposition to the passage of the bill. Indeed every objection attempted to be advanced by him has been fully and I think most effectively answered in the statements made before the committee by Dr. Alain Locke, Dr. Kelly Miller, and the letters of endorsement of the bill, from State Senator T. V. Smith of Chicago, Dr. R. R. Wright, president of Wilberforce University, Mr. C. Spaulding, president of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co., Durham, N. C., Mr. P. B. Young, editor Norfolk Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va. and sundry newspaper items which I have inserted in the record of the hearings.

This bill which has the endorsement and support of the large majority of good thinking people of both races, North and South, promises to meet a real need of the Nation and to substantially safeguard and advance the interest of the largest minority group of our citizens, a group which has been true to our country, and has always answered the call of the country in the most patriotic manner, but which group has been sadly and most shamefully neglected when it comes to sharing in full benefits of what we call American citizenship rights and opportunities.

(Thereupon, at 12 o'clock noon the hearing was closed.)